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THE PSALMS AND PRAYERS OF FRANCIS BACON AND JOHN MILTON.

THERE have been enough and to spare of criticisms and eulogies of the works, character, and genius of Bacon and Milton, but an adequate comparison of these is still a desideratum. Far, however, from the present writer be the presumption of essaying anything of the sort. He only wishes to call attention to some matters of detail in what these intellectual giants have left us, that may prove suggestive to other minds.

Milton is very generally allowed to be the greatest of all religious poets. He was an accomplished Orientalist, and the influence of Hebrew no less than classical poetry is omnipresent in his works. From his hand, therefore, we might expect to receive satisfactory translations of the Psalms of David. Now there are extant paraphrases of nineteen of the Psalms by Milton, as against versions of seven by Bacon. It is worth while to compare the respective merits of these metrical productions. Such a comparison should have a special interest for Baconians. And let it be remembered that Milton made his versions when he was in the prime of his life and genius, from forty to fifty years of age; Bacon composed his when suffering from sickness the year before his death.

"It has been usual," says that erudite scholar Mr. Spedding, "to speak of these as a ridiculous failure, a censure in which I cannot concur. . . . I should myself infer from this example that Bacon had all the natural faculties which a poet wants: a fine ear for metre, a fine feeling for imaginative effect in words, and a vein of poetic

passion. The thought could not well be fitted with imagery, words, and rhythm more apt and imaginative; and there is a tenderness of expression which comes manifestly out of a heart in sensitive sympathy with nature. The heroic couplet could hardly do its work better in the hands of Dryden."

Mr. Spedding's judgment should carry weight with it; and when the following extracts from Milton's verse have been perused, some readers may be induced to revert to Bacon's paraphrases with greater appreciation:—

PSALM VII.

"Lord, my God, to Thee I fly,
Save me and secure me under
Thy protection while I cry;
Lest as a lion (and no wonder)
He haste to tear my soul asunder,
Tearing and no rescue nigh.

. . . .

God is a just Judge and severe,
And God is every day offended.
If the unjust will not forbear,
His sword He whets, His bow hath bended
Already, and for him intended
The tools of death, that waits him near.

(His arrows purposely made He
For them that persecute.) Behold
He travails big with vanity;
Trouble he hath conceived of old
As in a womb; and from that mould
Hath at length brought forth a lie.

He digged a pit, and delved it deep,
And fell into the pit he made:
His mischief, that due course doth keep,
Turns on his head; and his ill trade
Of violence will, undelayed,
Fall on his crown with ruin steep.

Then will I Jehovah's praise
According to His justice raise,
And sing the name and deity
Of Jehovah, the Most High."

PSALM VIII.

"O Jehovah, our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is Thy name thro' all the earth!
So as above the heavens Thy praise to set
Out of the tender mouths of latest birth.

Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou
Hast founded strength, because of all Thy foes:
To stint the enemy, and slack the avenger's brow,
That bends his rage Thy providence to oppose.

. . . .

Fowl of the heavens, and fish that thro' the wet
Sea paths in shoals do slide, and know no dearth;
O Jehovah, our Lord, how wondrous great
And glorious is Thy name thro' all the earth."

If Bacon had ever written such wretched rhymes as the above, what guffaws would be indulged in over them by Shakespeare Societies. But Milton's name is sufficient to secure it from ridicule. It would seem as though the mere process of translating in many cases deprives a poet of all inspiration. Yet surely few writers of repute ever fell so far below mediocrity as the author of "Paradise Lost" in this particular instance.

There were occasions, however, when Bacon and Milton spoke each out of the abundance of their hearts, when their whole soul was poured forth before the mercy-seat of Heaven. Let us listen to their respective voices:—

A PRAYER MADE BY THE LORD BACON, CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

"Most gracious Lord God, my merciful Father from my youth up, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter: Thou, O Lord, soundest and searchest the depths and secrets of all hearts; Thou acknowledgest the upright of heart; Thou judgest the hypocrite; Thou ponderest men's thoughts and doings as in a balance; Thou measurest their intentions as with a line: vanity and crooked ways cannot be hid from Thee.

"Remember, O Lord, how Thy servant hath walked before Thee; remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in my intentions. I have loved Thy assemblies; I have mourned for the divisions of Thy Church; I have delighted in the brightness of

Thy sanctuary. This vine which Thy right hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto Thee that it might have the first and the latter rain, and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods.

"The state and bread of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes; I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart; I have, though in a despised weed, procured the good of all men. If any have been my enemies, I thought not of them; neither hath the sun almost set upon my displeasure; but I have been as a dove, free from superfluity of maliciousness. Thy creatures have been my books, but Thy Scriptures much more. I have sought Thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found Thee in Thy temples.

"Thousands have been my sins, and ten thousands my transgressions; but Thy sanctifications have remained with me, and my heart, through Thy grace, hath been an unquenched coal upon Thine altar. . . .

"Just are Thy judgments upon me for my sins, which are more in number than the sands of the sea, but have no proportion to Thy mercies. Besides my innumerable sins I confess before Thee that I am debtor to Thee for the gracious talents of Thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put into a napkin, nor put it, as I ought, to exchangers, where it might have made best profit, but misspent it in things for which I was least fit: so I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for my Saviour's sake, and receive me into Thy bosom, or guide me in Thy way."

Biographers of Milton have done the world injustice by passing over in silence the darker side of the great Puritan poet's mind. The lurid background of the resplendent brightness of his genius is painfully manifest in his "Treatise on Reformation in the Church." At the close of that work there is a magnificent passage, which is often quoted, but the quotation always stops short at a particular point. Yet, if continued, it not only constitutes a longer specimen of vigorous prose, but it throws more light on Milton's character than half-a-dozen ordinary lives of him. The passage referred to forms part of a prayer, which may be cited here as a contrast to that of Bacon:—

"And now we know, O Thou, our most certain Hope and Defence, that Thine enemies have joined their plots with that sad tyrant, that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir; but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do Thou cancel it; let them gather themselves and be scattered; let them embattel themselves and be broken; let them embattel and be broken, for Thou art with us. Then amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures to sing and celebrate Thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day when Thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and, distributing national honours and rewards, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming Thy universal and mild monarchy thro' heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly that by their labours, counsels, and prayers have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive, above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with Joy and Bliss in over measure for ever.

"But they, contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, (augmenting?) the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life (which God grant them), shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the despiteful control, the trample, and spurn of all the other damned that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most under-foot and down-trodden vassals of perdition."

Two hundred and fifty years ago when this fearful imprecation was pronounced by our liberally minded poet, I suppose that few of

his co-religionists would have been surprised at it, or deemed it at all unchristian. Fewer still would have succeeded in originating anything of such genuine Judaic ecclesiastical savour. It has the fervour of one of David's curses, intensified by the memory of one of Dante's hells.

When we compare this poet with the men of the widest culture, the Goethes, Schillers, and Carlyles of this century, he seems, after all, to be but a blind giant. And yet he was the very highest example of what could then be achieved by the union of classical culture and Judaic morality, modified by ecclesiastical metaphysics. The product was curious and imposing, but not altogether admirable. And to it may be traced a large amount of existing diseases of the mind, and the wretchedness of man's estate.

Disciples of Bacon would dishonour the genius and method of their master if they refused to accept and work by the light which, during the last half-century, has been thrown from a thousand sources on that human nature, which is displaced by Puritan theories, and which was, after all, the centre of his manifold studies.

S. E. Bengough.

ARISTOTLE MISQUOTED.

THE following passage appears in Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, Lib. vii., cap. i., Op. I., 739, iii. 26:—

"Annon prudens admodum, et digna quæ bene perpendatur, est sententia Aristotelis; *Juvenes non esse idoneos Moralis Philosophiæ auditores*, quia in illis perturbationum æstuatio nondum sedata est, nec tempore et rerum experientia consopita?

("Is not the opinion of Aristotle very wise and worthy to be regarded, 'that young men are no fit auditors of moral philosophy,' because the boiling heat of their affections is not yet settled, nor tempered with time and experience.")—*Arist. Eth. ad Nicom.*, I. i.

Mr. Ellis remarks on this passage: "Aristotle, however, speaks not of moral but of political philosophy." And he adds this very significant remark: "It is interesting to observe that the error of

the text, which occurs also in the *Advancement of Learning*, has been followed by Shakespeare in *Troilus and Cressida:*—

> "'Not much
> Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
> Unfit to hear *moral* philosophy.'

See Hector's speech in the second scene of the second act."

The quotation proceeds:—

> "The reasons, you allege, do more conduce
> To the hot passion of distempered blood,
> Than to make up a free determination
> 'Twixt right and wrong: for pleasure and revenge
> Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice
> Of any true decision."

Mr. Spedding, commenting on Mr. Ellis's note, remarks (Op. III. 410): "That in the passage there quoted from *Troilus and Cressida* the observation and the error were both derived directly from the *Advancement of Learning* admits of little doubt. But how came Virgilio Malvezzi, in his *Discorsi sopra Cornelio Tacito*, published in 1622, to make the same mistake? 'E non é discordante da questa mia opinione Aristotele, il qual dice, che i giovani non sono bouni ascultatori delle morali.' I quote from the Ed. 1635. The passage occurs in the address to the reader, p. 3."

Since so much has been made of this circumstance, I may add a brief extract from the *Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, translated by R. W. Browne, M.A., Ph.D., which Bacon had in his mind at the time of writing: Chapter I. The heading is as follows: "*That exactness depends on the nature of the subject. What are the qualifications of the ethical student?*"

"Now each individual judges well of what he knows, etc. . . . Therefore a young man is not a proper person to study political science, for he is inexperienced in the actions of life, etc. . . . Moreover, being inclined to follow the dictates of passion, he will listen in vain, and without benefit, since the end is not knowledge, but practice."

As this passage is often referred to, we may give the original Greek; it is in the first chapter of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Mr. Ellis mistakenly refers it to the third:—

Ἕκαστος δὲ κρίνει καλῶς ἃ γινώσκει, καὶ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸς κρίτης ..... διὸ τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖος ἀκροατὴς ὁ νέος· ἄπειρος γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων οἱ λόγοι δ' ἐκ τούτων καὶ περὶ τούτων. ἔτι δὲ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀκολουθητικὸς ὢν ματαίως ἀκούσεται καὶ ἀνωφελῶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν οὐ γνῶσις ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις.

The following quotation from Fletcher's *Valentinian* (I. i.), now for the first time called attention to, bears on the point, as the same passage in Aristotle is referred to, and the identical mistake repeated:—

> "*Chilax*—I find, by this wench,
> The calling of a bawd to be a strange,
> A wise, and subtle calling, and for none
> But staid, discreet, and understanding people;
> And, *as the tutor to great Alexander*
> *Would say, A young man should not dare to read*
> *His* MORAL *books* till after five-and-twenty;
> So must that he or she, that will be bawdy,
> (I mean discreetly bawdy, and be trusted)
> If they will rise and gain experience,
> Well steep'd in years, and discipline, begin it;
> I take it, 'tis no boys' play."

Mr. George Stronach, M.A., in Vol. I., p. 248 of the *Journal of the Bacon Society*, speaks of the "mistake" which both Bacon and Shakespeare made in substituting "moral" for "political" in Aristotle's essay, as "an extraordinary coincidence in thought and expression." . . . "In both passages the same sentiment is expressed in highly philosophical terms, and the same mistake is made."

Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, quoted by Mr. Stronach, says in his "Outlines": "The whole tenor of the argument in this play is so exactly similar to Bacon's mode of dealing with the subject, that it is incredible that a mere plagiarist would have followed so closely." The logic of this reasoning is rather subtle, but need not detain us. The point to remark is that the identical "mistake" is made by at least four scholarly writers—viz., Bacon, Virgilio Malvezzi, Shakespeare, and Fletcher. One may fairly ask, How did the mistake arise, and who started it? There may have been some Latin version of the "Ethics," by which both Bacon and Malvezzi were misled. We know it was Bacon's habit to read Greek authors in a Latin

version, and the mistake may thus have originated. The Shakespeareans may, possibly, still hang on one or other of the horns of Mr. Stronach's dilemma, "Either that Bacon wrote both passages, or that he—scholar and philosopher—borrowed the idea, including the error, from Shakespeare." Spedding is sure that Shakespeare borrowed it from Bacon. The dates admit of this, for the *Advancement* was published in 1605, *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609. This, however, is by no means established, as "Shakespeare," as well as Fletcher and other scholars, may have followed some slovenly Latinized version of Aristotle, and in that case the coincidence would not be so wonderful after all. The whole question seems, to me, to require further elucidation.

HENRY S. CALDECOTT.

Johannesburg, March 14, 1894.

TACITUS AND RICHARD II.

PART III.

IN my first paper on this subject, the intent was to adduce evidence that Francis Bacon was correct in his assertion that many things in the play of *Richard II.* are drawn from the pages of Tacitus. The second paper aimed at showing that many other Shakespeare plays owe similar or greater debts to that author.

The purpose of the present article is to prove that *the first translation of the works of Tacitus* (anonymously printed in 1622) *was made by Francis Bacon in his youth.* I say in his youth, because the vocabulary and spelling used throughout this volume were practically obsolete, discarded or declined by educated writers at the date when this translation was published. Here are some examples. (I do not encumber your pages with a host of references, but am willing to supply them, if needed by any serious student or man of letters.)

Alleadge
Anker
Apparant
Aray
Assoone
Banket = banquet
Bee = be
Bin = been
Bridel
Cary = carry
Cassirde = cashiered
Cawses = causeways
Clammer = clamber
Clime = climb
Colledge
Comming
Contray wheather = contrary weather

Doe = do
Dore = door
Dreampt
Ech = each
Eie
Els
Farder = farther
Fowlenesse
Galding = galling
Gard
Graunted
Handel
Harnish
Hart = heart
Hee
Hil
Hoat = hot
Iland
Ils
Impaciency
Invioy
Just
Kil
Kinseman
Knowen
Lims = limbs
Mary = marry
Marshall = martial
Meere
Mittigate
Moe = more
Monethe
Moning = moaning
Morgage
Neere
Nonne = none
Ouglie = ugly
Pallace
Politike
Prawnsing
Prevayle
Publike
Raigne
Renowmed
Roumes
Serch
Setle
Skorne
Skutcheon
Slouthe
Smoothered
Souldiers
Stirre
Stroake
Stroken
Stowt
Toombe
Trueth
Tuffed = tufted
Turves
Twise
Unkle
Uprore
Valarous
Waigh
Wal
Wales = (of stripes)
Weild = while
Whilest
Yeeld
Yf
Yron

The erratic spellings of some words seem to give colour to the suspicions of those who hold that these things, and equal irregularities in the pagination of this volume, are unaccounted for excepting on the assumption that here is cipher embedded. On this point I do not profess to be a competent authority. But it is difficult otherwise to explain such changes in spelling (sometimes in the compass of a few lines) as the following:—

Aray	Countrimen	Inveigh	Roum	Waite
Arraye	Countrey	Inwaigh	Roume	Weighte
Arraie	Countrie	Pitty	Stir	Yong
Break	Country	Pittie	Stirre	Yonge
Breake	Hot	Pity	Sturre	Young
Bereake	Hotte	Puld down	Stur	Yoong
Cloke	Hoat	Pulled „	Waighty	
Cloake	Invaied	Room	Waightie	
Cloak	Inveye	Roome	Weygh	

The spelling was distinctly "unsettled" which admitted of such license, and by the year 1622 the spelling was not to be called unsettled, in works of the class under consideration. But to turn from orthography to vocabulary. Let any man compare the lists given by

Mrs. Pott in our first number of BACONIANA, May, 1892 (*Chicago*). Nearly every word which she distinguishes as "*habitual*," and as being intimately connected with Bacon's philosophical system and predominant ideas, are used in the translation, when similar ideas are suggested by the words of Tacitus. And yet this is *a free translation*, and differs considerably from the revised Oxford translation issued by Messrs. Bell, 1892. The language, indeed, is the bright, racy language of Francis Bacon rather than the vigorous, but sometimes abrupt and obscure, style of Tacitus. It may aid my readers if I follow the order adopted by Mrs. Pott in the paper alluded to. Therefore, omitting metaphoric expressions, I give a short list of words which will be recognised by students of Bacon (and *Shakespeare*) as "habitual," and bearing with them certain trains of thought. Such words are singularly disproportionate in number to the figurative words in which the poet was wont to clothe his most dogmatic utterances—which figures, as Mrs. Pott has shown, constitute the chief characteristic of his style. These words are most frequent in the notes and commentaries appended to the works of Tacitus by his translator.

NOUNS.

Affairs	End	Man, A, who, &c.	Question
Affinity	Error	Matter	Reason
Aim	Event	Mean	Recreation
Cause	Example	Nature	Rest, The
Compass	Experience	Note	Rigour
Conclusion	Fashion	Nothing	Sort
Contrary	Form	Occasion	Thing
Counsel	Humour	Patience	Thousand
Defect	Instance	Perturbation	Truth
Effect	Kind of	Purpose	

Seen in their settings these words appear truly Baconian, and the sentences which include them may with ease be paralleled from the works of our great author: "So shall we see the *reasons* and *causes* of *things*, and not the bare *events*"; "*a man* rash and headstrong"; "*a man* of no moment"; "*a man* greatly to be feared"; "*a man* lightly carried away"; "*a man* of rare virtue"; "*a man* far unmeet to wield weighty affairs," &c. Then, "*a matter* of moment," or of small moment; "*a matter* debated . . . questioned . . . weighed," &c. "*As occasion offered*," "*as occasion ministered cause*," "he gave *occasion*," &c. "I will not digress from my *purpose*," "the *purpose*

was," &c. "The better *sort*," "the common *sort*," "the vulgar *sort*," "the rascalest *sort*," &c. "A *thing* usual," "a *thing* worthy," "a *thing* beneath him," "a *thing* far from their modesty," &c.

ADJECTIVES.

Abject	Due	Ignorant, Not	Sottish
Amiss	Exempt	Mere	Stiff
Apt, unapt	Exquisite	Notable	Stout
Bare	Far-fetched	Perpetual	Strange
Best, It were	Filthy	Perplexed	Ticklish
Brief, In	Fit, unfit	Prodigious	True
Certain	Flat	Raw	Unable
Condign	Heinous	Rigorous	Weighty
Contrary	Huge	Settled	
Counterfeit	Inward	Silly	

VERBS.

Argue, To	Imbrue, To	Protest, To	Solemnize (obsequies, marriages), To
Carp „	Inveigle „	Purge „	Stand stiff „
Construe „	Mark „	Put-off, away, To	Stir „
Effect „	Meddle „	Question, To	Weigh „
Frame „	Minister „	Remember, I	Wrest „
Glose „	Note „	Reported, It is	
Handle „	Perplex „	Set down, To	

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL PHRASES.

As I may term it	By so much the less	The rest of
As if	Headlong, fall, run, be cast, &c.	Too too
As is	I know not what	To what purpose
As it were	In brief, briefly	True it is that
As his manner was	In respect of	Up and down, Go . . . run
At a stand-stop	Inward = friendly	What? Did they? &c.
By how much the greater	It is said, reported	What I shall write and how I shall write
By little and little	On the contrary	Worse and worse
By reason of	On the other side	

I do not stop to illustrate the use of these expressions, and the identity of their use in the Tacitus translation and Bacon's writings. Attention once directed to these points, the reader will not fail to perceive them *if they interest him;* in other cases they are futile, and it is in vain to fill your valuable pages by multiplying such instances.

The "homely," "provincial," and sometimes obsolete words and expressions, next claim attention. They afford further indications of Bacon's *early* style.

Anon
A backe-friend
Bat full (= producing underwood)
Behoovefull
Bewray
Cluttering = crowding
Dumpe, In a great
Earable
Easlier
Eftsoones
Egg on
Erewhile
Eschew
Fardle = bundle
Flote = tide
Garboile = turmoil
Guerdon
Huddled up
Heft
Huggermugger, In
Hurly-burly
Inckling
Irked
Irksome
Ken, Whence a man might farthest
Kirt with skins
Knarle = bunch (of hair)
Knitch = bundle of rods
Marishes = bogs
Moil = to drudge
Mizled up in riot
Pedary senators
Prattlings of the people
Rif-raffe of nations
Scan
Scum—of the people
Sod, A poison was (concocted)
Wax weary, To

There are also the foreign terms French, Italian, and Spanish, which, as has been observed by the writer of your previous articles, form part of Bacon's style, and of his scheme for the edification of a noble model of language:—

Affiance — Aides — Aides (*bandes*) *— Aide* (*souldiers*) *— Barbing* (*shaving*) *— Bravado — Bruted — Buffons — Carriere — Dolour— To Dure—In effect* (*en effêt*)*—To endomage—Endomaged—Facile— In fine* (*en fin?*)*—Fisque—In liew of* (*au lieu de*)*—Malapert— Marish* (*marais*) *— Maugre — Ouant* (*openly*) *— Parle a Parles* (*speech, &c.*)*—Peise, Peyze* (*peser*)*—Pendant* (*slope*)*—Plat* (*flat outline—Puissant—Reculing—Semblant—Tenue* (*vie, a road, &c.*).

Neither are the compound words absent:—*Co-partner, Crafts-master, Faith-breaker, Hunger-starved,* ill-beseeming, over-thwart, seat-town, &c.; nor the legal terms, which could hardly have been inserted without some lawyer-like knowledge or supervision. Thus we read of "Provinces subject to pay *taske and tallage*;" of the quæstorship granted according to the worth of the suitors, and *gratis* —of a man mortgaging a house—of another who "*put his right in ure*"—of Antonie's treachery to the Parthians, "having *tolled unto them their* King," and afterwards killing him.

Elsewhere, we are reminded by Latinised expressions, of similar language, in the *Shakespeare* Plays. For instance:—

An oration of his *is yet extant,* &c. (*Ann.* ii. 54).
The story *is extant,* and writ in choice Italian (*Ham.* iii. 2).

This *preamble* with a glosing speech was received with much flattery (*Ann.* xii. 156).

What means this *peroration* with much circumstance? (2 *Hen. VI.* i. 1).

The repeated phrases in the *Annals* and *History*, where we are told that there was *no precedent* for such a thing, or that the act would be *taken as a precedent*, or that *a precedent should be given*, cannot but recall the like expressions in the Plays.

> A reason mighty, strong, and effectual,
> A pattern *precedent and lively warrant* (*Tit. And.* v. 3).
> I may example my digression by some mighty precedent
> (*L. L. L.* i. 2).

It shall be recorded for *a precedent*, &c. (*Mer. Ven.* iv. 1, &c.).

The term is especially frequent in Plays of the *early* period, Plays which appear to be contemporaneous with this translation of *Tacitus*. But I pass to the terms of speech which coincide with the earlier notes of the *Promus of Formularies*, and here set down the references to those private notes of Bacon:—

Annals and History.	Promus.	No.
It is *all one*, as if	*All is one*	196
As the manner *is—as it were* ..	*As is*	285
Banded into factions—Banding, &c.	*Banding factions*	1421
Believe me, Lords	*Believe it. Believe it not*	1406-7
Like a *blockhead* as he was	*Blockheads*	1226
He *openeth . . . the cause*	*Causa patet. The cause is clear*	315
The cause was because	*Causa ne.* No cause. Is it because?	455, 305
Vitelliers was but *a cipher*	*Numerus. A mere cipher* of a man of no worth ..	729
To stir the coals and kindle the fire	Let them that be a'cold blow at the coal	637
Colourably he shook off amitie under *colour* of friendship	You speak *colourably*	205
The matter was not *come to that* ..	*I come to that*	322
To *conclude upon*—He concluded, &c.	What do you *conclude on* that?	195
Silius on *the contrary* . . . cried, &c.	You draw for colours but it proveth *contrary*	185
Delivering his minde..	*Delivered*	1416
He *demanded* . . . to demand, &c.	*I demand*	289
Difficilia quæ pulchra	*Difficilia quæ pulchra*	52
Due, fame, honour, praise, &c. ..	Give authors their due . . . Time *his due*	341
What els	*What els*	307

ANNALS AND HISTORY.	PROMUS.	No.
Fewest wordes best. Some *few wordes*	*Few wordes need*	292
Furnishing the number, means, &c.	*Furnyshed*, &c., as phappes you are	1376
Imperfections *incident* to the sexe ..	*Incident*	28
Hatred *incident* to all stepmothers ..		
Riot *incident* to women		
The pestilent *infection* of the bar ..	*Infect*, potion, drench	1436
Is it a small matter that	*Is it a small matter yf*, &c., an Hebraisme	1399
Matter . . . to the purpose—from the purpose	*Matter in question*	291
	You go *from the matter* ..	200
Words not matter	Matter of circumstance not of substance	1365
In *the meantime*, season, space, while, &c.	*The mean—the tyme*	295
Putting him in minde Calling to minde, &c.	*You put me in mynd*	287
Nothing at all moved . . . displeased, &c.	That is *just nothing*	323
Matters of nothing	,, ,, ...	323
Not lesse—not the lesse	*Not the lesse for that*	275
Nothing lesse	*Nothing lesse*	308, 1400*a*
Not unlike	*Not unlike*	303
In strength of the souldiers . . . courage and hope .. .. There was great *oddes*	*Oddes*, stake, sett.	1182
Peradventure	*Peradventure*	324
The rather	*The rather*	1376
Demanding him *a reason*	*Your reason?*	1386
The reason why was..	Repeat your reason	197
The rest . . . *for the rest* consydered	*For the rest* (a transition concluding)	1377
Seeds of commotion, &c.	The nature of everything is best considered in the seeds	1451
Unseasonable requests, &c.	*In season*, &c. (Fr. proverb) ..	265
The prisoners were *shuffled* in *Shuffling* of cartes and souldiers	*Barajar* (Spanish. *To shuffle*)	1434
We think it strange .. .. These things seem strange ..	*I find that strange*	302
For a tyme, while, &c.	*For a tyme*	273
In a good time	Good betime	1193
Not unlike	*Not unlike*	303
Whereas	*Whereas*	1395
We have seen *a woman to oversee the cohorts*, &c.	*Woman made a leader of armies*	372
Zeal—zealous affection, &c.	*Zeal*, *affection*, alacrity *A zeal and good affection*	1242

Grammar I pass with the general remark that the frequent errors of Bacon's early writings are to be seen in full force. Arbitrary use

of pronouns and tenses in the same sentence: "The river *divided* . . . *keepeth his* name . . . until *he* fall into the ocean. But *it* waxeth broader . . . changing *his* name, the inhabitants name *it* Vahales, which name *it* changeth againe," &c.

"Aruntius, whilst his friends *persuaded* him . . . *answereth* them," &c.

Interchanges of parts of speech, verbs for nouns, adjectives for verbs, and so forth: "*To malice.*" "A sinister emulation *malicing* Bleasus." "To *eye* him." "*To father.*" "*Priested* at the altar." "He *bettered* the revenues." "They *wintered* there." To *mad*, *madded.*" To carp (transitive) "he carped Regulus."

To do a thing "*angerly.*" "One *confuse* cry."

In connection with the variable grammar of Baconian works of this period, it may be useful to note the translator's comment on the words, "*Credula fama*" (easily believed). "Dionysius noteth in Thucydides, among other innovations in speech, that he commonly changed actives into passives and passives into actives. He shows that Tacitus does the same (1 *Hist.* i., Note 5).

For construction we find examples such as these:—

"That which until then he went *about.*" "Nor the name of Cæsar *at all.*" "He sent aid *likewise.*" "We were infamous *otherwise.*" "He was hindered *no way.*" "Neither did they make any way *at all.*" "They had of valour *sufficient.*" "He stood . . . without one word *speaking.*" "Die we *must* . . . die we *shall*," &c.

There are antitheta not always in the original:—

"*Famous* only for *infamous* actions." "A *thing nothing* inconvenient." "*Most* matter in *fewest* words." "Which *little* time fell out *greatly* for good." "*Joy* in his countenance, *heaviness* in his heart."

Repetitions:—

"*That that* they should expect." "The remedy of this *tumult* was another *tumult.*" "Which calamities . . . did *put out* these negligently *unput out.*" "The *sounder, sounder.*" "To accept . . . or *not. No, not* so much as." "*Divers* did *diversly* interpret," &c.

Those who please may further elucidate the resemblances of style

by comparing the coined or experimental words, afterwards rejected, usually cumbersome and ineuphonious: Dishonourablenesse, industriousnesse, powerableness, modestest, unexpertest, principallest, postposed, divulgate, surcease, &c.

The Pleonasms and Redundancies:—

"*To* what greatnesse they might come *to*." "Speeches she seemed not much to like *of*." "*But* I will deliver you *but* that which hath been heard." "A matter of no *lesser* weight." "The *cause* was *because*." "The more *nobler*." "They cannot hardly escape." "The reason *why* was *because*." "Not fearing us *neither*."

The Alliterations seem to be the result of a musical ear:—

"*L*ingering *l*ong and *w*orking *w*ickedness." "*Th*ey *r*espect *th*e *r*umor." "They *c*annot escape *c*aptious *c*onstruction." "*B*ritannicus' *b*ody was *b*urnt." "Agrippina *f*retted and *f*umed that a *f*reed woman should," &c. "*Set* his *s*onne *t*o *sh*oo*t* an*d* *d*ar*t* a*t* in *sport*." "*D*ishonour *d*oubl*ed*." "In *s*umme a *s*ilent and *s*orrowful troupe." "*F*ull o*f* *f*ilthy *f*latteries." "The *w*iser sort *w*ere *w*oe to *s*ee."

But nothing seems so to bespeak a common origin as the metaphors and figures, of which I give a short list below. Some of these may have suggested new ideas to Francis Bacon. Others introduced into the translation are not in the original, and consequently not in the Revised Oxford translation.

Asleep, Laws lying
Author of conspiracy, &c.
Bare events, records, &c.
Bent to do good, mischief
Bitter speeches, words
Blind to danger
Blockish, dull, gross
Blot out disgrace, fame, memory
Boil with anger, &c.
Borrowed art, words, &c.
Breed danger, fear, hatred, &c.
Brew matter, discontent
Bridle passion, impatience
Broach subjects
Butchery of soldiers
Buzzing of men, voices
Carried from bad to good
Carrying a fair countenance
Climb to honour, dignity, &c.
Cloak, cruelty, wickedness, &c.
Cloud of uncertaintie, &c.
Clustering men, together
Coals of discontent, &c.
Cold delays
Colour, colourable (*See Ante*)
Consume time
Cousins—Art and falsehood
„ Love and madness
Creeping into men's hearts, &c.
Dark speeches, &c., oblivion
Dashed men's spirits, laws
Dazzled by ideas of glory
Dead of night
Digest learning
Disease, Usury a
Drift, secret, special

Drive on to extremes, war, &c.
Dull, heavy, minds, spirits
Empty minds, words
Engender virtues, fame
Enflame with desire, rage
Entangle
Entrance into matters
Ensnare enemies
Entrap enemies, &c.
Extinguish families, names, talk, &c.
Eye of the world bleared
Face of the country, world, &c.
Fall to jars, blows, &c.
Feed minds, hopes, &c.
Fetter
Flag of revenge
Flock together in clouds
Flower of age, youth
Forge accusations, crimes
Foster injuries, &c.
Foundations of reason, truth, &c.
Frame arguments, reasons, speeches
Gaping after a man
Greeding of honours, money, tales, &c.
Ground reason upon
Hatch troubles, hatred
Heap of cares, injuries
Heavy multitude, spirits
Hot contention, &c.
Hunt after matter, &c.
Infection of the bar, of discontent
Instruments of good, evil
Interlace speeches, armies
Jarring discords
Key of the sea
Kindle with anger, &c.
Knit up amity, peace, &c.
Lane between lines of troops
Lees (of work and its *translation*)
Level at
Linked in friendship, &c.
Lustre of writings
Mark shot at
Medicine to the mind
Mewed up
Mincing the oath
Moved with pity, &c.
Nipping terms
Pattern to men, &c.
Pick out points in oration
Pinch of want
Platform of conduct
Pluck down honour, &c.
Pregnant conceit, wit
Pricked on by ignominy, desire
Print and engrave in our hearts
Puffed up with pride, hope, &c.
Purge offences, &c.
Raw youth, soldiers, &c.
Remedy to fear ignorance, rebellion, &c.
Reins, Letting loose, of licence, government, &c.
Rip up faults, grievances
Ripe age, years, conspiracy
Schoolmasters of tyrannie
Scrape money
Seated, a town, king, &c.
Shadow of estate, &c.
Sharp words
Shrink, To, in courage, power
Shuffle (see *Ante*, *Promus*)
Slip from, To
Slippery honours, youth, &c.
Smell of flattery
Snares to entrap
Soil of the field of knowledge
Sow rebellion, &c.
Sparkle of emulation
Stale matters, rumours, &c.
Stain, honour, &c.
Steps to honour, &c.
Stick to friends, &c.
Stock, Of a good, &c. (comp. *Promus* 1448 to 1451)
Stuffed with reproaches, Verses
Suck out cunning
Sway, Hatred and envy bear, &c.
Tempests, mind torn by passion, &c.
Torn
Winds of hope
Winked at

This list in no way professes to be exhaustive, but those for whose use these notes are specially set down will find them sufficient to serve as guides. A few collations, with the writings of Bacon, whether

prose or verse, will probably satisfy them as to the translator of this *Latin History* and of the *Letter to the Reader* which precedes it.

Where lawes lie *asleepe* (*To the Reader*).

This matter fell *asleep* (*Essex' Treasons*).

The law hath *slept* (*M. M.* ii. 2).

Letters . . . containing *bitter* and *sharp* words (*Ann.* v. 117).

A *bitter* temper and *sharp* tongue (*De Aug.* iii. 4).

Nor *bitterness* . . . nor *sharpness* (*As Y. L.* i. 3).

Accusers *brewing* matter against him (*Ann.* vi. 135).

He was no *brewer* of holy water in Court (*Obs. Libel*).

Brew affection (*Tr. Cr.* iv. 4).

His army *boiling with choler* (*Ann.* xii. 135).

A turbulent *boiling* humour of the wars (*Device of Philantis*).

The country unquiet and *boiling* (*Hist. Hen. VII.*).

Boiling choler chokes my voice (1 *Hen. VI.* v. 4).

Cold by delay (*Ann.* xii. 158; *Hist.* iii. 157).

The soldiers all *clustered* together (*Ann.* i. 10).

Dispositions, &c., all *cluster* and concur (*Int. Nat.*).

The *clustering* battle (1 *Hen. VI.* iv. 7).

The first brunt . . . *by delay and lingering became cold* (*Ann.* xii. 158, &c.).

The matter is *cold* (*Apologia*).

I cannot proceed too *coldly* (*Talbot's Case*).

Cold considerance (2 *Hen. IV.* iv. 1).

Your suit is *cold* (*Mer. Ven.* i. 2).

Lutorius did *creepe into* not men's but women's *breasts* (*Ann.* iii. 5).

Creepe into the souldiers' *mindes* (*Ib.* iv. 89).

Tyrannie *creeping in* (*Hist.* ii. 82).

Creep into his bosom (*Of Gn. Bn. and Sp.*).

A thing . . . *crept in* in degenerate times (*Pacif. of Ch.*).

Abuses *crept* in (*Proclamation*), &c., &c.

(He) shall creep into the bosom, &c. (1 *Hen. IV.* i. 3).

He creeps apace into the hearts of (men) (*Ant. Cl.* i. 5).

Lust and liberty creep in the minds of youth (*Tim. Ath.* iv. 1).

He was so *heavy and dull* spirited the emperors did smally regard him (*Ann.* xiii. 178).

When a state groweth *heavy* . . . this *dull* humour is not sharpened (*Sp. on Subsidy*).

Dumps so *dull and heavy* (*M. Ado* ii. 3).

Lead song . . . heavy, dull (*L. L. Lost* iii. 1).

The journey *dull and heavy* (*Tr. Cr.* ii. 2).

See also to *feed* minds, *forge* accusations, *frame* reasons and speeches, &c. (*Ann.* iii. 100, 101, xv. 218).

Works of darkness *framed and forged* (*Let. to Gent. at Padua*).

Whate'er I *forge to feed* his brain-sick fits (*Tit. And.* v. 2).

Hatred *hatched* (*Ann.* vi. 112).

Grievances *hatched* (*To the King*).

Rebellions *hatched* (*His. Hen. VII.*).

Grievances *hatched* (see *Ham.* iii. 1).

Evils *hatched* (*M. M.* ii. 2; *Rich. III.* iv. 1, 54, &c., &c.).

Judgments interlaced (*Ann.* xi. 150).

A point *interlaced with justification* (*Obs. Libel and Report*, 1606-7).

The ancient jarring between the Legion and the Batavians (*Hist.* ii. 84).

With Ferrara always at jar (*Cont. Ch.*

Jarring in jurisdiction (*Advice to Villiers*).

Cease these jars, and rest at peace (1 *Hen. VI.* i. 1).

Jars 'twixt thy seditious countrymen (*Com. Err.* i. 1, &c.—frequent).

The key of the sea (*Hist.* iii. 18).

The ports . . . under key (*Hist. Hen. VII.*).

The keys of Normandy (2 *Hen. VI.* i. 1).

To apply some medicine to the mind * (*Ann.* i. 19).

Physic hath not more medicines (to) the body than reason hath for the mind (*Adv. Rutland;* and see *Ess. Friendship and of the Intell. Powers*).

Preceptial medicine to rage (*M. Ado* v. 1—very frequent).

Pregnant of conceit (*Ann.* ii. 58).

Pregnant of wisdom, &c. (*De Aug.* ii. 10, &c.).

How pregnant his replies are ! (*Ham.* ii. 2).

It is easy enough to multiply such comparisons, of which none is

* This figure is not in the original, which runs thus: "To calm the restless spirits of the soldiers."

more interesting than that about the climbing to honour being slippery. I therefore conclude with this striking metaphor thrice used by Bacon in his prose works and four times repeated in *Shakespeare*. Even in the act of translation this figure must have struck him as excellent, worthy of preservation and of re-adaptation. Tacitus uses the figure thrice only, but his translator, as will be seen below, introduces it on a fourth occasion where the words in the original convey no such idea. The fact is noteworthy, and affords one of many evidences that the translator had "a mind quick and nimble, apt to perceive analogies," ready to adopt and adapt them when perceived. Collation enables us to prove that, as a rule, the translator, when repeating a figure, developed, altered, or improved it, using it in varied and sometimes opposed senses, and combining it with other figures so as to result in the "mixed metaphors" so abundant in Bacon and *Shakespeare*. In the process of translation the style oftentimes become more pithy or less diffuse than in the original.

"Tiberius . . . affirming that all mortal things were mutable and uncertaine, and *the higher he should clime, the slipperer his estate should be*" (*Ann.* i. 29).

"The unconstant *slipperines of his youth* (*Ann.* vi. 140).

"So *slippery* is the estate of great persons" (*Ann.* xii. 168).

"*If the slipperines of our youth* be over, prone to that it should not, thou drawest it back and *temperest carefully with advice* our unseemly and unruly courage" (*Ann.* xiv. 217).

Literal translation: "If in any respect I deviate from *the right path*, owing to the proneness to error natural to youth, you should rather *recal my wandering step, and guide that strength which you have adorned, by more intense efforts to assist me*" (*The Works of Tacitus*, p. 389; *The Oxford Translation Revised:* George Bell and Sons, London and New York, 1892).

"He passed *that extremely slippery time of his early manhood*" (*Praise of Henry Prince of Wales*).

"The *rising* to honours is laborious, *the standing slippery*, the descent headlong" (*De Aug.* vi. 3; *Antitheta* 7).

"The *rising* unto place is laborious; and *by pains men come to greater pains*; . . . the *standing is slippery*, and the regress is either a downfall or at least an eclipse" (*Ess. of Great Place*).

"Your mind is all as *youthful* as your blood . . .
And he that *stands upon a slippery place*
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up" (*John* iii. 4).

"My credit now stands on *such slippery ground*."
(*Jul. Cæsar* iii. 1).

"(Men) when they fall, *as being slippery standers*,
The love that lean'd on them, *as slippery too*,
Doth one pluck down another, and together
Die in the fall" (*Tr. Cr.* iii. 3).

"How you speak!
Did you know the city's usuries,
And felt them knowingly: the art o' the court,
As hard to *leave* as *keep; whose top to climb*
Is certain falling, or *so slippery* that
The fear's as bad as falling: the toil o' the war
A pain that only seems to seek out danger
T' the name of fame and honour, which dies i' the search, &c."
(*Cymb.* iii. 3).

Careful consideration of these passages shows the idea of *slipperiness* to be first coupled with *youth*, then with *rising* or *climbing* to high place. Bacon adds to these the reflection that such rising or climbing is the result of *pain*—a reflection further wrought out in the passage above from *Cymbeline*.

With similar examples it would be easy to stuff another ten pages, but they will be of more profit when sought out by the readers themselves. Had space permitted I would have enlarged on the possible source of some of Francis Bacon's most rooted prejudices, opinions, and ideas. For instance—

Of *the malice of a stepmother* (*Ann.* i. 2, 3, xii.).

The perfidiousness and venality of advocates . . . the Bar (*Ann.* xi. 142).

That eloquence is the *princess of good arts who would be distained with the servitude of lucre* * (*ib.*); this is the Rosicrucian doctrine and figure.

Of the hidden thoughts and secret drift of princes as inscrutable or dangerous to sound (*Ann.* vi. 124); this passage seems to have

* Eloquence, an accomplishment the most dignified of all others would be debased by mercenary services" (*Oxford Trans.*, p. 250).

been the key-note to the beginning of the *Essay of Empire*, which see).

Of the natural cruelty and fierceness of the unbridled woman, her inconstancy and frailty (*Hist.* ii. 82, &c.).

Of minds and bodies *crooked;* that there is *no mean* in the common people ; that there are quarrels where drunkards meet; of air wholesome and unwholesome; of the noisomeness of dead carcasses; of usury as a cause of sedition; and many other such points which were dwelt upon by Bacon on every occasion.

To conclude, I ask Baconian students to compare his monition as to the dignity and aims of civil history,* with the "general view" given by Tacitus of his own history.† I extract a few passages from the translation (1622).

"*A work I here take in hand* containing sundry changes, bloody battles, violent mutinies, peace full of cruelty and peril, four emperors slain, three civil wars, foreign many more . . . good success in the East, bad in the West . . . townes burnt or overwhelmed . . . the most antient temples consumed to ashes: the capitol itself set on fire by the citizens' own hands. . . . To have been wealthy or nobly born was a capital crime, offices of honour and virtue the ready broadway to most assured destruction. Neither were the informers more odious than was the recompence they received. . . . Pontifical dignities and consuls' rooms . . . procuratorships and inward credit, making havock of all; . . . besides *so many changes in human affairs*, many prodigious sights were seen in heaven and earth . . . forewarnings . . . presages of things to come, some portending good luck, some bad, some ambiguous, some plain and evident, such heavy and horrible calamities in the Roman estate yielding proofs pregnant that the gods are careful rather to revenge our wrongs than to provide for our safety. But before I enter into my purposed matter, I think good to rehearse . . . *what there was in the empire sound or complaining. So shall we see the reasons and cause of things*, not only *the bare events which are most commonly governed by fortune.*"‡

* *De Aug.* ii. 1—12; *Spedding* iv. 292—314; and *Descriptio Globi Int.* ii.; *Sped.* v. 505—7.

† *End of Galba and Beginning of Nero*, p. 3, and note to the same, p. 5

‡ *Hist.* i. 3.

"The commendation of an *history consisteth not in reporting bare events, but in discovering the causes of those events*, without which the reader can pick but small profit out of *a simple register book*. . . . Tacitus sets down a theorem of history, wherein, without controversy he excelled, that *an historiographer is to give knowledge of counsels and causes*, &c., &c." *

See how closely Bacon follows in the tracks of the excellent historiographer and of his annotator:—

"The History of Learning' . . . I set down as deficient. . . . We have some barren narrations . . . meagre and unprofitable memoirs . . . but *I wish events to be coupled with their causes.* I consider that such a history would greatly assist the wisdom and skill of learned men in the use and administration of learning, that it would exhibit the movements and perturbations, the virtues and vices, no less in intellectual than in civil matters, . . . for *everything is subject to chance and error* which is not supported by examples and experience. (The history of) *the vicissitudes of things*, the foundation of civil policy, . . . the secrets of government, is *a task of great labour* and judgment . . . *barren* and commonplace narratives, a very reproach to history." He goes on to show the need for memorials or preparatory history, commentaries which "set down *a bare continuance of actions and events without the causes* and pretexts . . . and *registers* which . . . either contain titles of things and persons in order of time, or collections of public acts countenanced.

TACIT.

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* *Ib. Note* 14, p. 5.

BACON'S ESSAY OF PAN, AND THE HIEROGLYPHIC DESIGN OF PAN.

(A chapter from an unpublished book on Hieroglyphic Book Ornaments. Should the inquiry be deemed interesting, it will be continued.)

"The severe schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes, that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible, wherein as in a portrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, as they counterfeit some real substance, in that invisible fabrick."—*Religio Medcii.*

THE first Hieroglyphic woodcut to which I invite attention, and which proves to be a key to the whole series, forms the tail-piece to 25 of the Plays in the Shakespeare folio of 1623.* A casual glance at this stamp at first sight may show only a complicated scroll design, but on closer inspection it is found to include a picture of "the great god Pan," partly hidden behind the scrolls or framework in which his goat's feet are twisted. His hair sets out from his head like rays; flutes or pipes are in his mouth; his extended arms grasp cornucopias of flowers and fruits.

The parable of Pan is the example given by Bacon of parabolic poetry, *as it should be*, but which he finds deficient. Readers are earnestly requested to read with attention the Essay in the *Wisdom of the Ancients*, from which I can only quote fragments:—

"The ancients have, with great exactness, delineated universal nature under the person of Pan, . . . the ancientest of the gods, the issue of Jupiter and Hybris (*reproach or contumely*). . . . He is described by antiquity with pyramidal horns reaching up to heaven, of a biform figure, human above, half brute below, ending in goat's feet. His arms or ensigns of power are, a pipe, compact of seven reeds; a crook; and he wore for his mantle a leopard's skin."

The poet philosopher goes on to describe Pan's titles—God of Hunters and Shepherds, President of the Mountains, Messenger of the Gods, Ruler of the Nymphs, who continually danced and frisked about him, attended by Satyrs and Sileni. Pan was challenged in

* A coarse and degenerated version of the earliest yet found. See list farther on.

wrestling by Cupid, and "worsted by him"; "He also catched the giant Typhon," and held him in a net. When Ceres mourned the rape of Proserpine, Pan met her in hunting, and discovered her to the rest. He rivalled Apollo in music, and is reported to have been married to Echo, and to have love for a nymph called Syrinx, being inflamed by Cupid in revenge for his challenge. Pan had no descendant, only he was the reputed father of a handmaiden called Iambe, who used to divert strangers with her prattling stories.

"*This fable is, perhaps, the noblest of antiquity, and pregnant with the mysteries and secrets of nature.* Pan . . . represents the Universe, or the all of things; . . . he either sprang from Mercury, the Divine Word, or from the confused seeds of things. . . . The third origin of Pan . . . relates to the state of the world as subject to death and corruption after the fall. . . . The Destinies, or the Fates of Things, are justly made Pan's sisters, as the chain of natural causes links together . . . all effects and changes that can any way happen to things."

His horns are broad at the roots and sharp at the top, because the nature of things seems pyramidal; "individuals" infinite, but rising to "generals," until collected to a point. "And no wonder if Pan's horns reach to the heavens since the sublimities of nature, or abstract ideas, reach in a manner to things divine, . . . metaphysics to natural theology."

Pan's body, or the body of Nature, is *shaggy*, representing the rays of things, and *biform*, to figure the mixture of the human and the brutal; for "there appear to be no simple natures, but all participate of two: thus man was somewhat of the brute, the brute somewhat of the plant, the plant somewhat of the mineral; so that all superior bodies have really two faces."

Pan is goat-footed, because earthly bodies desire to ascend heavenwards. His arms are emblems—the one of Empire, the other of Harmony. His pipe also denotes the concords and discords of things. His crook represents the ways of nature—partly straight, partly crooked. His mantle of leopard-skin is spotted, "for, in like manner, the heavens are sprinkled with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers, and almost each particular thing is variegated, or wears a mottled coat. . . . His office is well expressed by

making him god of hunters, for every natural action and process is but a chase: thus arts and sciences hunt out their works, and human schemes and counsels their ends. . . . He is the god of the rural inhabitants," because in country life nature is better studied than in courts and cities.* He is president of the mountains, because in lofty places the nature of things lies open to the eye. As Bacon notes in the Promus—"The hill considereth the vale."

Pan is, next after Mercury, the messenger of the gods, "as next after the Word of God, the image of the world is the herald of the Divine power and wisdom." He delights in the nymphs, the souls of living creatures (the *vital spirits in nature*), and with them dance the satyrs and sileni—youth and age—"for all things have a kind of young, cheerful, and dancing time."

The discovery of Proserpine by Pan, whilst he was hunting, is interpreted of the sagacious experience which often stumbles upon unlooked for discoveries. His contending with Apollo in music instructs us of the two kinds of harmony—Divine providence, and human reason; and the decision of Midas in favour of Pan was justly rewarded with asses' ears, put on secretly, "nor is the deformity of the thing seen by the vulgar."

"Echo makes a most excellent wife for Pan, as being no other than genuine philosophy which faithfully repeats his words, or only transcribes exactly as nature dictates; thus representing the true image and reflection of the world without adding a tittle. . . . The spurious, prattling daughter of Pan aptly represents the talkative philosophies, . . . which have at all times been stirring, and filled the world with idle tales, being . . . sometimes diverting and entertaining, and sometimes troublesome and importunate."

Let us now turn to the woodcut tail-piece in the 1623 folio, and imagine if we can see any device more comprehensively suggestive and illustrative of the wonderful volume which they embellish. That book, like the Fable of Pan, "is pregnant with the secrets and mysteries of nature." It represents the world and society, not as Bacon would have it, but as he saw it to be—"the offspring of God and sin, subject to death and corruption since the Fall."

* Comp. the Duke's reflections, As You Like It ii. 1; and the Ess. of Gardens, and of Mountains, Cymb. iii. 2, 1—50.

See in the design those *chains of natural causes* linking together all natures, all knowledge, all events. These chains reappear continually in the Baconian hieroglyphic book ornaments, which I hope some day more fully to elucidate. Combined with *fringes*, they suggest to the observer the ornaments or embellishments of truth; choice words, beautiful language in which sublime verities are to be expressed. As necklets, or fringes to her robe, Truth is seldom pictured without them.

Pan's hair is shaggy; for all nature reflects some rays of the divine nature.

> "There is some soul of good in things evil
> Would men observingly distil it out."

The "biform figure of nature" seems to have been in the poet's mind throughout the *Tempest*, first amongst the Plays of the first folio: Caliban, "A thing most brutish"; "Hag's-seed"; "A man or a fish? Legged like a man, and his fins like arms"; "Monster of the isle, with four legs and two voices"; "Mooncalf"; "Servant-monster"; "Demi-devil"; "Whose mother was a witch"—what is he but an impersonation of "the inferior parts of nature, brutal through their disorder, irregularity, and subjection to the heavenly bodies"—man partaking of the nature of the beast? The celestial and superior body to whom the man-monster Caliban is subject, is Ariel, the mind and soul of man, described by Bacon himself, as "of an airy and flamy nature." Biform figures of these winged, goat-footed, with claws like griffins, or with horse's body like centaurs, or "having somewhat of the brute or the plant"—the body ending in flowers or leafy scrolls, are frequent in such designs as are under consideration.

In our Pan woodcut the horns (figuring the pyramidal nature of all things) are absent. They are, however, to be seen in numerous designs where allusion is made to the arts, crafts, and elementary knowledges, rising, and being collected in such a point or acmé of wisdom, as Ben Jonson describes Bacon himself. In many such designs where the head and body of Pan disappear, his horns bring to the mind of the Baconian observer the inspiring thought that the nature of things is *to rise heavenwards*, "since the sublimities of nature reach to things divine."

Pan is hidden, or enclosed, by a scroll framework which, from collation of many examples, I conclude to be "the great frame of nature," the "frame of the world," the "frame of things disjoint," to be united by Bacon's methods: *Frameworks*, he repeats, of science, common-places, and orderly writings and discourse. His vision of the rearing of "Solomon's House" probably suggested the strong framework needful for all great fabrics, material or spiritual. Pan was brother to the Fates, for, "to the nature of things, the destinies of things are truly represented as sisters, inasmuch as the chain of nature and the thread of the fates are the same thing. Fate . . . excellently answers to the frame of things, seeing that there is nothing in the order of nature so small as to be without a cause, nor anything so great but it depends on something else; so that the fabric of nature contains in her lap every event whatsoever." *

Observe that this frame of the world is fixed at the corners by pins; we see their heads. They are not the "broken and brittle pins" upon which Bacon told James that his kingdom rested; pins, I suppose, whose weakness had made it "disjoint and out of frame." † They are pins firmly driven in up to the head.

In the centre of the frame is an oval form. It is a "speculum," the "glass of the understanding," the mirror of nature, and of the world. Who amongst us does not recall some of the many passages where Bacon uses this fine figure? "God hath framed the mind of man as a glass capable of the image of the universal world." ‡

"The mind of a wise man is compared to a glass wherein the images of all diversities of natures and customs are represented" (*Advt. L.* ii. 1). The same is repeated with this addition (*De Aug.* viii. 2). "In the glass he can see his own image, which the eye itself, without a glass, cannot do" (comp. *Jul. Cæs.* i. 2). "The mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass wherein the beams do reflect, according to their true incidence, nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass full of imposture. . . . The divine glass is the Word of God, so the politic glass is the state of the world or times wherein we live; in the which we behold ourselves (*Advt. L.* ii. 1, *rep.; De Aug.* iii. 2; iv. 2, *rep.*; v. 2; vi. 2.; viii. 2, *rep.* See also *Gt. Instauration Plan* and *Nov. Org.* i. 41; *Observation on a*

* De Aug. ii. 13. † See Ham. i. 2, 20; Mac. iii. 2. 16. ‡ Interp. Nat.

Libel Letter to Essex, 1593; *Of a Parliament*, 1615; *Letter to Buckingham*, 1623; *Charge against Talbot, &c.*).

Can anything be more appropriate to a book of Plays representing nature—human nature especially, in all its aspects—than the mirror which is seen times in the Shakespeare folio. Bacon's aim was precisely that claimed by *Hamlet* as the purpose and end of stage-plays, "to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature: to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure" (*Ham.* iii. 2, and comp. *Jul. Cæs.* i. 2). The figure is before his eyes throughout the act, where he tells the wicked queen:

> "You go not, till I set you up a glass
> Where you may see the inmost part of you."

In the previous scene Ophelia speaks of Hamlet as "the glass of fashion," * the observed of all observers, just as in *Hen. IV.* Hotspur is described:—

> "He was indeed the glass
> Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves . . . .
> He was the mark, the glass, copy and book
> That fashioned others." †

Sometimes Bacon mixes or interchanges the ideas of mirrors with pictures, or tables, equally figuring the image of the world or of the "little world of man."

"Let Cicero be read in his orator *pro Marcello*, which is nothing but *an excellent table* of Cæsar's virtue, and made to his face."—*Advt. L.* ii. 1.

The scope of my letters was but to "represent and *picture forth my lord's mind*" (*Apologia*). In the same way Hamlet leaves the metaphor of the mirror, and turns to that of the picture.

"Look upon this picture, and on this, &c." (*Ham.* iii. 4, 53—65). In *Richard II.* the king seizes upon Bolingbroke's description of the reflection in a glass as a *shadow* to make one of those anthithetical speeches (so common with Bacon) contrasting *shadow with substance.* ‡

* Ham. iii. 1. *Ib.* 2. Compare Bacon's Essay of *Civil Discourse.* † 2 Hen. IV. ii. 3, 20—31. ‡ R. II. iv. 1, 276—299.

"Poesy . . . satisfies the mind with the *shadows* of things, when the substance cannot be obtained." * "Praise is the *reflection* of virtue; but it is the glass or body which giveth the reflection." †

The emblem of the mirror appears on the earliest illustrated title-pages of Bacon's works. He seems to have used the figure from almost boyhood. In the *Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz*, written when its author was fifteen years of age, he supposes himself brought into a stately room in the Palace of Wisdom, in order to take part in some mystic ceremonies. Here are "windows and *looking*-glasses . . . mirrors," in which he sees "the most wonderful spectacles that ever nature brought to light." The travellers to the palace had no need to rest after their journey, "regarding no pains or inconvenience in the hope of future joy, their minds running only on this adventurous physic, and hence to contemplate *the Creator's wisdom and omnipotence.*" Here the youthful philosopher is teaching in parable that the image of God is viewed in the mirror of nature. No wonder, then, that this noble emblem should be conspicuous in at least one edition of every Baconian work.

Beneath the mirror in the Pan hieroglyph is to be noted a shell-like form, and within it a small head. The shell, I think, represents that "most excellent wife for Pan—Echo, or genuine philosophy—whose mission and pleasure it is for ever to repeat exactly the teachings of universal nature. "In profusion there is no desire," says the essayist; "therefore Pan, remaining content with himself, has no passion unless it be for *discourse*, which is well shadowed out by Echo, or talk; or, when it is more accurate, by Syrinx, or writing." *Syrinx* signifies a *reed* (the ancient pen), and her memory is duly preserved in many emblematic designs by the picture of a pen.

Bacon compares the reflections of sound to reflections of light, and his frequent figures on both subjects has a tendency (habitual to his method) to change or to merge into one another. No wonder, then, that we should sometimes find it difficult in our hieroglyphic designs, to distinguish between a mirror and a shell. Bacon's own aim was the same which he attributes to Echo, or genuine philosophy—namely, to reflect or echo the voice and utterances of nature. She makes no

* *De Aug.* ii. 13. † Ess. Praise, &c.

pretence to originality, but contents herself with diligently reflecting the sound of earth's many voices.

Her daughter Iambe is more entertaining, if less precise, diverting strangers with her stories, which, we may be sure, do not lose in the telling. It tickles fancy to see the little face of Iambe peering out from the pages of *Shakespeare*,* catching up the echoes of the world's philosophy, and, like the birds, "telling tales of all that she finds." Contrary to his habit, Bacon does not explain her name; but it seems as if he were here slyly hinting at poetry, or the drama, as the little daughter and handmaid who should "divert" as well as instruct the world by repeating in her artless, prattling way stories of universal nature echoed by philosophy.

This theory has a basis of ancient myth for its support. Iambe seems to be a feminine form of Iamos (*Violetty*), son of Apollo and Anima (the spirit or wine of heaven), spirit of reason and speech. Anima, on the birth of her child, *hid* him in the rushes or reeds for fear of Ægyptos. This name suggests Egypt, but what Ægyptos was, or what business he had to interfere, I have not discovered. His conduct, however, accounts for the *hiding in the bushes*, which perhaps means that Iamos was brought up as a scribe, and endowed with the pen of a ready-writer. Phœbus had said that the child should be a renowned prophet whose race should never fail; he was, therefore, a type of true learning or wisdom. †

When Iamos grew to manhood, Apollo called him up to the hill of Kronos, or time, where he bestowed upon him the double gift of prophecy by augury and by entrail inspection—in other words, by poetic foresight and by experimental observation.

Iambe is a humbler little personage than Iamos, yet there is a family likeness between them. Remembering that Pan, the god of universal nature, fell in love with the voices of nature (Echo) and with their expression in writing (Syrinx), we need but alter the genders to find Apollo, god of poetry, in love with the spirit of the world—Nature. As the son of Apollo and Anima was endowed with

* This is a very coarse and degenerated edition of the delicate drawing, to be seen in the earlier books, and of which a list is given below.

† Comp. Moses similarly hidden, and afterwards learned in all the learning of the Egyptians.

poetic inspiration and experience, so the daughter of Pan and Echo had the gift of diverting the world with her amusing "*imitations*"—*acting* the stories echoed from nature, whilst Syrinx, nymph of the pen, wrote them down for the delight of "the future ages."

"English unrhymed *Iambic* began with Marlowe and culminated with Milton"; we call it the blank verse of *Shakespeare*. Iambe then is the verse which Francis Bacon married to the English tongue, and which echo the voices of nature.

One point more, before leaving the Pan tail-piece. There is proof plain, and palpable, that others have attached to it an importance equal to that here claimed for it, an importance so great indeed as to involve mystery and to demand inquiry.

In the gigantic collection of title-pages and book ornaments, known as Bagford's Collection, at the British Museum (*from which nearly all the chief Baconian head and tail-pieces have been carefully eliminated*) there is one sheet of great interest.* It is from a volume by *Johannes Lorinus*, on an epistle to Lorinus, and is partly pasted down in the album. But, turning the leaf, the investigator will see on the reverse, at the end of *Typographus Lectori*, a curious agglomeration of head-lines and ornamental letters pasted by their edges, so as to cover up a space about four inches square. The arrangement is this. At the top of the square, a head-line strip is fastened by its top edge, and folded downwards. At the bottom a similar strip is laid on, folded upwards. Between these three ornamental letters fill up the space; those to left and right being fixed by their outer edges, and folded inwards, the centre letter being kept in its place by a touch of paste or gum in the middle. This singular arrangement of stuck-on pieces attracted me, and I folded them gently back. Behold, the "Pan" tail-piece concealed beneath!

Now, what can be thought of this but that the persons, whoever they may have been, who so screened and yet preserved one sample of this peculiar hieroglyphic design (as well as those who have eliminated from the Bagford albums nearly every other characteristic Baconian woodcut of the first period) knew well its value, because it

* The press-mark was (in January, 1891) $\frac{150\ B}{59\ 22}$, and the page in question is 448, No. 737. This press-mark must be written on a *green* slip. The same numbers written upon an ordinary white slip produced a different book.

is a kind of key to unlock the Baconian (or *Freemason, or Rosicrucian*) parable, symbols, and metaphors, it must be screened from the eyes of "the profane vulgar"—the uninitiated, outside world of students. Yet the "doorkeepers," or "porters," of the house of wisdom must afford to the happy initiates some clue to guide them through the labyrinthine paths which they have to pursue, and to show them a definite point to which they may return. Such, I think, is this concealed Pan—buried under five scraps, in a volume of an enormous but semi-secret collection, procured only after a wearisome hunt, by a circuitous process and by means of a label dyed in the Freemason green.

The following are some books in which this Pan tail-piece occurs:—

Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World 1608
The Fairie Queene: Letter of the Author's and Bk. i. ... 1609
The Visions of Bellay 1609
Observations on Cæsar's Commentaries ("C. Edmundes") 1614
Paracelsi *Opera* ... ... — 1616
Fairie Queene 1617
Shakespeare 1623
Camden's Annals 1635
A Review of the Council of Trent ("Sir N. Brent") ... 1638
Arcadia 1638
Bacon: *Opera Omnia* 1638
Hist. Henry VII. 1641
Sylva Sylvarum 1650
Hist. Life and Death 1650
Clark's Examples (Dict. of Morals, Ethics, and Religion)... 1660
Bacon: *Opera Omnia* 1665

I earnestly hope that real students and observers will examine these few books. They will perceive that the first three only are sufficient to send to the winds the oft-repeated statement that such woodcuts are *printed from the same block.* To the question, "How come these same peculiar designs in such different books printed by different printers at distant dates and in various places?" The answer is usually to this effect: "The printers used the block regardless of any meaning in the design, and after a while passed it on to other printers. The imperfect versions of fine designs were caused by the wearing of the block."

Such things doubtless happen at times, but they do not account

for the innumerable variations of an important kind, which are seen in the examples I have mentioned. Observe in the fourteen books enumerated the changes in the heads of Pan and Iambe, the sizes of the shells, the absence or immense multiplication of the pins, the mirrors marked as with eight points of the compass, or blank. The finials, long and elegant, or broad and squat. With an ordinary magnifying glass the artist's lines may be counted, and their direction noted, and the least observant inquirer must be convinced that not one, but many, blocks were made, each time "with a difference" and, I think, an intentional difference whose object will become apparent in proportion to our advance in the study of the metaphors of Francis Bacon, and of the symbols which are never absent from the illustrated works of the English Renaissance—that "New Birth of Time" which he inaugurated. C. M. P.

FRANCIS BACON'S "SERVANTS" AND *SHAKESPEARE'S* COMPANY.

IN the 1623 edition of *Shakespeare*, there is in *Much Adoe About Nothing* a section of a scene which deserves notice. This is the portion of *Actus Quartus*, headed in modern copies, "Scene ii.: A Prison." In the folio the act is undivided into scenes, but a break occurs on col. 2 of page 116 (*note the irregular numbers*). We read :—

"*Enter the Constables, Borachio, and the Towne Clerke in gowns.*"

The modern version runs:—

"*Enter* Dogberry, Verges, *and Sexton*, in gowns; *and the watch, with* Conrade *and* Borachio." The Constables, Dogberry, and Verges proceed to the examination of the prisoners brought before them by the watchmen. We have nothing to do here with what they say, but only with their names, as written in the *Shakespeare* folio of 1623.

The first to speak is *the* "*keeper*" (not mentioned in the list above). When he speaks for the second time he is "*Kemp*," the

third time "*Kem*," the fourth time "*Kee*"; after which he makes nine speeches in all of which he is "*Kemp*," excepting in the last but one, when he is again "*Kem*." This is peculiar, but we leave Kemp (or Dogberry) and take the next speaker. He is Verges in modern editions, but in 1623 he was "*Cowley*" for two of his speeches, when he in the end was "*Const.*" * We may, if we will, take this to stand for "*Constable*," but in his last speech "*Cowley*" reappears.

Various explanations will doubtless be offered for these changes of name. We do not profess to put forward a solution, but merely to suggest a possible clue.

The Kemps were Bacon's cousins. There are letters from Bartholomew Kemp to Lady Anne Bacon which show him to have been serving the family in some subordinate capacity. Robert Kemp was a young lawyer in Gray's Inn, with whom Francis and Anthony corresponded. Francis writes to him (November, 1593), calling him "Good Robin," and asking whether he "will *play the honest man* or no" in coming to see him—a hint, perhaps, that Robin sometimes played other parts. There was, we know, a "*Kemp*" in the *Shakespeare* company.

But next of "*Cowley*." Much suspicion attaches to Abraham Cowley in regard to his supposed authorship. He was for the best part of his life engaged in travelling, and in "ciphering and deciphering" for the king and queen—perhaps for other people as well. But there was a *Richard Cowley*, also member of the *Shakespeare Company*, and with *Kemp* and *Cowley* was *Burbadge* or *Borbidge*.

Neither Kemp nor Cowley are very common names; Burbadge is still less common. It is, therefore, not a little striking to meet in the Tennison Collection of Anthony Bacon's correspondence with this as the name of a man in the service apparently of both Francis and Anthony. One of the letters at Lambeth conveys to Burbadge a severe reproof for "unfaithfulness," though in what particular is not hinted.

It is worthy of note that correspondence with Burbadge and two

* Attention has been drawn to the fact that "Con" occurs twice for *Conrade*. This seems to prepare the eye for "Const," and indeed the present writer at first confused the two.

of the Kemps (Richard and Robert) can be shown going on in the same six months of the year 1593, or just earlier than the *Promus* notes which are found to be so closely connected with *Romeo and Juliet*.

The letters are thus dated to Burbadge, May 21, 1593. *For* Richard Kemp to the Lord *Keeper*, July 3, 1593—To Robert Kemp (*Good Robin*), November 14, 1593.

This date reminds us of many letters of the same period which are in the Tennison Collection from the Allen or Alleyn family. Several of the Alleyns seem to have been serving the Bacons at that time, and amongst the small portions of the correspondence which the present writer has been able to examine, the name of Francis Alleyn or Allen is the most conspicuous. There are six letters from him between June and October, 1588, and six more between January and March, 1592. Several letters are from John and Godfrey Alleyn, and it would be interesting, and perhaps helpful, to ascertain what connection there was between these "servants" of the Bacons, and the Edward Alleyn, whose share in the founding and endowing of Dulwich College has always been somewhat mysterious.

A letter signed *Fa Hudson* shows that a man named Willyamme Cully, Culy or Culye, together with his "sonnes," assisted about the same time in the secret transmission of "paquets" of papers to Anthony Bacon. This name may possibly be the same as *Cowley*. The spelling would be no more varied than that of the patronymic Raleigh, Rawleigh, Rawley, Rawly. Dr. Rawley (of the Raleigh family) was one of Francis Bacon's closest intimates, his secretary, chaplain, and biographer.

If, as may be strongly suspected, the scene in *Much Adoe* contains cipher, then the change from Cowley to Constable, and back again, may be easily accounted for. Sir Henry Constable and John Constable were old friends of the Bacons. The latter married the sister-in-law of Francis, who called him "brother," and appointed him one of his executors.

It seems noteworthy that the name *Burbidge*, equally spelt *Borbidge*, may be hinted at in the abbreviation in *Much Adoe*—"*Bor*" for "*Bora*" or Borachio. The shortest form is used when the line is shortest, so that no argument can be based on the

exigencies of printing. On the other hand, there is a similarity of sound between Bor(b)age and Borachio.

Kemp: "What is your name, friend?"
Bor: "*Borachio.*"

Whilst jotting down these notes, it may be well to mention that amongst the serving friends or "servants" of the brothers Anthony and Francis are mentioned several *Spencers or Spensers*, *Fletcher*, *Johnson or Jonson*, *G. Harvey*, *R. Barker* (of printing fame), *the Carys*, *Careys*, *or Carews*, *the Sherleys*, *Shirleys*, *or Shirlys*, *Mons. de Montaigne*, *and Mons. de La Fontaine.*

Are not these names suggestive? Do they excite no curiosity or desire for further research? Are there no wealthy men who, though they may not find time or opportunity to work, yet will employ competent amanuenses to copy out under direction some of the exceedingly curious "Codices Manuscripti Lambethani, Whartoniani, Carewani, Tennisoniani, Gibsoniani, Miscellanei, Manners-Suttoniani"?

Whither can we look with greater hope and expectation of finding light cast upon the work of Francis Bacon? It appears to the present writer that the ecclesiastical work, so to speak—the letters and papers connected with the re-formation of "universal" religion—the efforts made to draw together the opposed ends of the Church of Christ, may be best studied at Lambeth; the efforts for a "universal" re-formation of learning and science, together with the means taken for the development of all arts and crafts connected with printing and with the dissemination of letters, are to be best studied in the Harleian, Cotton, Finch-Hatton, and minor collections of MSS. at the British Museum.

"WILLM. SHAKSSPEARE—HUNDRED AND TWENTY POUNDES."

IN the Autumn of 1880, Samuel Gaskins, a proof reader, from London, brought to the Boston Public Library several old books which he wished to sell. One of them was Plutarch's Lives, in English, $12\frac{7}{8}$ inches long by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide, published in 1603. It was in the original binding, but the sewing had given way, the fly-leaves were gone, and the book was otherwise damaged. The hinges had been lined with strips of parchment, and over the parchment, were paper leaves of the same width. These would be concealed from view if the lining leaf were pasted to the board, otherwise not. The strips of parchment were in their original condition, and so was the strip of paper at the end of the volume. At the beginning, the parchment was covered with two short strips of paper, apparently as old as the binding. Each piece of paper covering the parchments contained some writing. On the lower piece, at the beginning, in the crabbed caligraphy of the time, was this :—

Willm Shakesspeare—Hundred and Twenty Poundes.

Mr. Gasking drew the librarian's attention to this writing, which he thought might be by Shakspere; but he did not seek to enhance the price on that account, and the books were purchased at something less than the prices usually quoted in English catalogues.

A worm-hole is exhibited in the fac-simile, after the word "hundred," and it penetrates 310 pages of the text. This worm-hole, it is argued, must have been made after the writing; for, if it had been before, the pen would have caught on the edges of the hole and caused some irregularity of line, which is firm and sharply defined on both sides of the aperture. The volume was probably bound many years before Shakspere's death. The ink, in the judgment of experts, is genuine ink of the early part of the 17th century. For these and some other less forcible reasons Librarian Mellen Chamberlain thinks it possible that the Boston Public Library possesses more of Shakspere's writing than has been found elsewhere.

The superfluous s between the first and last syllables of the name Shaksspeare is a real difficulty which the librarian acknowledges, and

he makes a feeble effort to meet it. He says: "Whether it be a privilege of genius never to write one's name twice alike, even on the same day, such is certainly the fact with Shakspeare." But before making this remark he betrays a suspicion that almost, if not quite, upsets his whole argument in favour of the genuineness of this newly discovered autograph by saying that the five signatures of 1613 and 1616 "show such a lack of facility in handwriting as would almost preclude the possibility of Shakspere's having written the dramas attributed to him, so great is the apparent illiteracy of his signatures."

When I published my "Proof that Shakspere could not write," in 1886, I gave a list of twenty-five different spellings of the name. Had I known of the existence of the writing in this old book I would have had one more spelling, and a remarkable one. My conjecture is that Shakspere entered a broker's office and said he had a hundred and twenty pounds to lend. The clerk made a memorandum, and as Shakspere did not know how to spell his own name, the clerk wrote it Shaksspeare, with a double s. WM. HENRY BURR.

Washington, D. C., May 14, 1894.

THE SHAKESPEARE CIPHER.

PART I.

SINCE the appearance of the "Great Cryptogram," and the storm of criticism and obloquy that followed upon its publication, there has almost nothing more been heard of the Bacon-Shakespeare cipher, and there seems to be a general impression that the thing is dead, still-born from the beginning. In seeking to revive the question, therefore, the present writer may appear to be somewhat audacious, though he is of opinion that what he has to offer will not be wholly uninteresting to the readers of this magazine.

As a Baconian of many years' standing, he was anxiously awaiting the appearance of Mr. Donnelly's volume, heralded, as it was, by so much newspaper comment and prophecy, and, when it came out, eagerly embraced the first opportunity of becoming acquainted with its contents. With the first part of the work, he was, as no believer

in the Baconian authorship could fail to be, greatly delighted, and impressed not less with the powerful argumentation than with the masterly and scholarly style of the book. But when he came to the second part, and to the cipher itself, he was forced to confess to a feeling of disappointment. Convinced of the existence of the cipher, he yet found it impossible to follow the unravelling of it, and, after many vain attempts to gain an insight into the mystery, at length laid the volume aside, with the firm assurance that the cipher was there, and that Mr. Donnelly had not been merely spinning cobwebs out of his own brain, but that he had been too reticent as to the *modus revelandi* to enable any other to continue his work.

Thus the matter lay in the writer's mind for three or four years, when, on reading Mr. Donnelly's contribution to the *symposium* (if such it can be called) on the Bacon-Shakespeare question, in the *Arena* last year, he was roused to take up the Great Cryptogram once more, and this time with better success. To lay before the public some of the results of his efforts and experiments with the cipher, is the object of these articles. His first experiments which gave any promise of success were made with two of Mr. Donnelly's root-numbers in the third column of *2 Henry IV.*,* in which, it will be remembered by the careful reader, and as Mr. Donnelly also points out, the mysterious words—look, title-leaf, volume, mask—occur in near connection with each other. After a good deal of experimenting, in strict application of Mr. Donnelly's principles, the writer finally succeeded in eliciting from the passage the following: "*So I put a man's ugliest mask on the title-leaf of my volume. Look! this is the gentleman from the Curtain.*" † Without being sure that this solution was entirely correct, the writer persevered in his attempts, both in this place and in others, and has been at last rewarded far beyond his anticipations. Not that he pretends to have mastered, or got to the bottom of, the cipher, which is far from being the case, but that he has, as he thinks, advanced the question two or three stages beyond where Mr. Donnelly has left it in his book. He has, for

* It is needless to say that the references here, and always, are to the first folio.

† As is well known, *The Green Curtain* was the name of one of the London theatres in Shakespeare's time.

instance, succeeded in discovering a simple and easy method of obtaining the root-numbers, so that he can readily find from fifteen to twenty for each play, and, in addition to this, he has been so fortunate as to obtain two *universal* numbers, which apply to all the plays, and to every column of every play, at least in so far as he has tried them. Thus equipped, he is prepared to take up any passage in any play which may appear to him to contain matter of interest and get at the secret, or some of the secret, that is hidden beneath it. In this way he has worked in eight of the plays—viz., *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen*, *The Merry Wives*, *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, the *1st and 2nd Henry IV.*, and *Hamlet*, making an aggregate of about *sixty* columns in all.

We will now proceed to present some of the latest and most trustworthy fruits of our study, and, in order that they may be as fully brought to the test as possible, we will give in this first article the *formulæ* themselves in each case, with the root-numbers and modifiers employed, so that anyone who chooses may go over the operations for himself.

It will be seen that in every case the cipher-readings we give are all *in one column*—that is to say, the words composing them do not skip about from column to column, but are all contained within the limits of the same column, lying often widely separated, but ready to be called together into line by the use of the proper means, with the exception of an occasional one which is required to complete the sense, but which, not being in the column, must be obtained elsewhere, but always in strict accordance with some settled rule. *

We will begin with the first play, *The Tempest*, which contains many interesting facts, apparently in Bacon's autobiography. On the first page of this play, as does the text itself, the cipher-narrative deals with a violent storm at sea, in which some of Bacon's friends or relatives were in deadly peril, if not actually lost; but we have not thus far been able to make it out clearly. Our first specimen will therefore be from col. 1 of page 2, as follows:—

* We shall have occasion hereafter to call attention to some striking instances of the adjustment of words in the text to the requirements of the cipher, of which indeed every sentence of the latter is more or less an example.

309 − 286 (p. 1, col. 2)	= 23	of
436 − 23 = 413 + 1 = 414		Milan
23 − 3 *b*	= 20	been
436 − 20 = 416 + 1 = 417		only
23 − 4 *b*	= 19	I
436 − 19 = 417 + 1 = 418		heir
23 − 7 *brk*	= 16	they
436 − 16 = 420 + 1 = 421		no
23 − 6 *brk*	= 17	perished
436 − 17 = 419 + 1 = 420		Princess
23 − 9 *b*	= 14	poor
23 − 12 *b*	= 11	my
23 − 16 *brk*	= 7	cry
23 − 15 *brk*	= 8	did

This, as we read it, gives:—

"No, my poor Princess did cry, [had] I only been heir of Milan, they [had not] perished."

Here the words, *had* (twice) and *not*, have, according to our reading, to be supplied; but, as they are both in the column, they are easily obtained by means of another root-number, as is frequently the case. It is probable that *England** or *Scotland* is to be substituted here for *Milan*, but this point can be decided only when we have a fuller understanding of the cipher-story. Who "my poor Princess" may be, is also mere matter of conjecture—not impossibly the unfortunate Mary of Scotland, who was a prisoner in England during Bacon's early manhood.

Our next example is from the same column, and relates to the same subject, but who is the person speaking, and what his mysterious connection with the ship and its passengers, does not appear:—

681 − 435 (p. 3, col. 1)	= 246	be
436 − 246 = 190 + 1 = 191		the
246 − 17 *b*	= 229	stay
436 − 245 = 191 + 1 = 192		vessel
436 − 244 = 192 + 1 = 193		which
436 − 238 − 198 + 1 = 199		saw'st
246 − 25 *b*	= 221	and
436 − 237 = 199 + 1 = 200		sink
246 − 11 *brk*	= 235	come
436 − 235 = 201 + 1 = 202		down
246 − 28 *brk*	= 218	am
436 − 233 = 203 + 1 = 204		thou

We read: "And am come down [to] be the stay [of the] vessel which thou saw'st sink."

* *England* occurs on the ninth page of this play, being the seventh word in the second column, and is probably the word required.

There is something about meddling with Magic in a sentence which we have been unable to read that may ("rather than meddling with thy Magic Art") account for the allusions in the last and following sentences.

One more specimen, and we shall have done with this particular topic, although there is a good deal more of it which we have worked out, but which is not available here.

703 − 435 (p. 3, col. 1)	= 268	was't
436 − 268 = 168 + 1	= 169	Art
436 − 267 = 169 + 1	= 170	so[2]
436 − 266 = 170 + 1	= 171	safely
436 − 259 = 177 + 1	= 178	no
268 − 8 *b*	= 260	do
436 − 260 = 176 + 1	= 177	soul
268 − 3 *b*	= 265	for
436 − 265 = 171 + 1	= 172	ordered
268 − 11 *brk*	= 257	this
436 − 257 = 179 + 1	= 180	so
268 − 28 *brk*	= 240	thee
436 − 255 = 181 + 1	= 182	perdition

Read: "Was it Art so safely ordered this for thee [that] no soul do [suffer—p. 1, col. 2, 283] perdition?"

Perdition is evidently to be understood here in the same sense that it bears in the line from which it is taken.

> "No, not so much *perdition* as an —
> Betid to any creature.

It would certainly be more satisfactory if we had all the words, and in their proper order, but we give them just as we got them; and when we consider the enormous difficulties under which the author worked in putting a cipher into these plays, ought we not rather to be amazed that we have it in such perfect form as it is? This will be still more forcibly impressed upon us as we proceed.

We now quit the subject of the shipwreck and come to what appears to be the opening sentence of the autobiography, addressed apparently by Bacon himself to Harry Percy, or some other of his faithful attendants. We are still in the first column, and this sentence, differently from the former ones, is in two sections instead of one. This is a common case, and is indeed often carried to a still greater length, some sentences being formed from as many as a dozen or more sections or divisions, with a corresponding number of root-

numbers and modifiers, in which case they sometimes become so much involved and so complicated that it is impossible to decipher them, or, even where we do succeed in making sense, to feel certain that they are in all particulars correct. We shall, therefore, for the greater part, confine ourselves in these articles to the simpler and more obvious examples. In the following instance the arrangement is, we think, not very difficult to make out.

385 − 286	= 99	Master
436 − 99 = 337 + 1 =	338	thy
99 − 3 *b* =	96	better[2]
436 − 96 = 340 + 1 =	341	seest[2]
99 − 4 *b* =	95	more
436 − 95 = 341 + 1 =	342	thou
99 − 2 *b* =	97	then (than)
436 − 97 = 339 + 1 =	340	what
436 − 92 = 344 + 1 =	345	the
99 − 6 *brk* =	93	I
99 − 5 *brk* =	94	am
436 − 94 = 342 + 1 =	343	else
99 − 17 *b* =	82	what
436 − 98 = 338 + 1 =	339	mind
99 − 20 *b* =	79	art
436 − 95 = 341 + 1 =	342	thou
436 − 94 = 342 + 1 =	343	else
99 − 24 *brk* =	75	care
436 − 90 = 346 + 1 =	347	and
99 − 23 *brk* =	76	of
436 − 91 = 345 + 1 =	346	dark
99 − 89 $\left(\frac{\text{p. 1,}}{74+15}\right)$	10	against
436 − 10 = 426 + 1 =	427	what
10 − 2 *b* =	8	did
436 − 8 = 428 + 1 =	429	play
10 − 1 *b* =	9	knock
436 − 9 = 427 + 1 =	428	foul

600 − 259 (p. 1, col. 1) =	341	seest
436 − 341 = 95 + 1 =	96	better
341 − 4 *b* =	337	in
436 − 337 = 99 + 1 =	100	of
341 − 17 *b* =	324	me
436 − 340 = 96 + 1 =	97	then (than)
436 − 336 = 100 + 1 =	101	a
341 − 21 *brk* =	320	women
436 − 335 = 101 + 1 =	102	full

Read: "Thou seest more better than a woman what [is] in the mind of me: thou art [knowing—col. 86] else [besides] of what dark care I am full, and against what foul play thy Master did knock."

Observe that the same words occur here in both sections, in two

or three instances, as also that words are frequently duplicated and triplicated in the same section, as we have indicated by the sign (²). In the former case, or where the repetitions are between different sections, they appear to be designed to serve as *class* to show which sections go together in the forming of sentences. Another circumstance deserving of notice in connection with this sentence is that the word *woman* comes out *women* (a *women*) in the cipher. The writer was for some time in doubt about the matter, thinking there must be some mistake, until one day, happening to go into a bookseller's, he picked up a book from the counter which proved to be a reprint of an old English work, entitled, "Narrative of the First English Plantation of Virginia, by Thomas Hariot (first printed at London in 1588, now reproduced from De Bry's Illustrated Edition of 1590)." In this book the phrase *a women* occurs several times, both under pictures of women of various Indian tribes and also in the headings of the letterpress accompanying them. Here then, in the fact that in Bacon's time the same spelling was used for both the singular and plural forms of this word, the problem was solved, and our reading of the cipher corroborated.

We close here our analysis of the first column of this page. As already observed, there is much more, but we have given all that is available for our purpose at present. In our next article we purpose to proceed with the second column, which also contains much interesting matter.

E. GOULD.

FRANCIS BACON'S PYRAMID.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN A STUDENT AND AN INQUIRER.

INQUIRER.—What think you of the theory recently brought forward, that Francis Bacon was the centre, if not the founder, of Freemasonry?

STUDENT.—Well, certainly, I think it well worthy of notice and inquiry; indeed, I have tried to get up the subject by reading all that has been published about it. Up to the present time evidence goes to prove it true.

INQ.—Where is the evidence? I have read several Freemason

works with accounts of the supposed history of the brotherhood, but they nearly all throw back the date of its foundation much farther than to the sixteenth century.

STU.—To be sure; but do all your authorities agree?

INQ.—Well, no, I cannot say that any two seem to agree in all respects. But, as they say, the subject is so "obscure" that it is difficult to get at the truth.

STU.—May not this obscurity be of the same kind as the obscurity about the origin of the Royal Society, and other matters connected with Francis Bacon? I suppose you have read the first paper in BACONIANA, May, 1894, and the book, "Francis Bacon and his Secret Society"? *

INQ.—Yes, it was that which set me thinking; but the author is quite resolved that Bacon is the man, so the article is prejudiced.

STU.—Of course; it demonstrates propositions which the author considers to be established by study and research, for example, that Bacon's famous "Methods" aimed at nothing less than to raise man from his fallen state and to revive learning.

INQ.—But the need of mystery is not made plain. I well conceive that the factions and bigotries of the times may have required that the chief promoter of any new scheme should temporarily eclipse himself. Perhaps, too, his colleagues may have been the better inclined to work with or under him, if they were allowed to share in the honour as well as in the labour. But *now*, when there is question neither of fame nor of danger? If I were a Freemason, I should not care in the least who was the founder.

STU.—There you are wrong. You would care very much, because upon the founder must depend the aims of the Society and its work. So the question whether Masonry was contrived by Noah or by Oliver Cromwell involves a great deal.

INQ.—You take such extreme cases. Of course, I believe in neither of those men as founders.

STU.—Why not? According to Masonic authorities, their claims are as strong as most of the others, and, in theoretical arguments, each theorist holds his own. Yet, theories and speculations are valueless unless based on a solid foundation of fact, and the man who rejects

* The writer of this paper borrows largely from the book named.

the theories or conclusions of others merely on the ground that he himself fails to see the force of the argument, or that he himself has never examined into the subject, is an empty speculator and an incompetent judge.

INQ.—I consent; and now we come to the point. On what solid foundations (excepting the hints of Preston and the statements of Evelyn), do you and your friends erect the statement that Francis Bacon, Lord Verulum, instituted Freemasonry? Stay! I will add further. *What is Masonry?*

STU.—Those are large questions to answer pat, in unprepared conversation, but I will try my best. First, as to solid foundations. I lay mine upon the works of Bacon himself. I take his own statements as to the state of the world, of society, in his own time, of the dulness, ignorance, prejudice, and conceit of the men among whom he lived. I see him cogitating how to mend these things, how to contrive a plan, by which mankind could be tuned to harmony, and induced to work with and for each other in times so dark and dangerous.

INQ.—That is what you all keep repeating, "Times, dark and dangerous." Well, so they were perhaps, yet there must have been a goodly number of clever and excellent men about, or the learning would not have sprung up so suddenly as it did throughout the civilised world; and Francis Bacon may have been as great a genius as you will, but he could not have done all this himself. Still, go on.

STU.—You have just hit one of my marks. Bacon could not have done all this of himself. Certainly not, and here is one strong motive for his endeavouring to frame a society to help him, a powerful "engine," to use his own word, whose motion should be perpetual, for ever kept going by the care and devotion of his followers. But for the plan or method. Think of the Pyramids, wide at the base, rising from earth towards heaven by gradual stages, and terminating in an apex; firmly planted, incapable of being over-turned. Bacon thought much about these particulars with regard to his scheme for raising fallen humanity. You remember his use of the figure?

INQ.—Of a pyramid? No, what does he say?

STU.—He speaks of the various branches of learning, or "knowledges" as *pyramids of which history and experience are the basis.* Look at this title-page of the 1611 edition of "The Advancement,"

the idea of the Pyramid is carried out by the triangular figures drawn on the plinths of the two tall spires (which themselves combine the idea of the *pillars* of the earlier title-page and of a *pyramidal form*). Well, on the one side a triangle or pyramid is inscribed *Scientia*, and shows on its three sides—1. Memory and History. 2. Reason and Philosophy. 3. Imagination and Poesy. On the side of *Philosophia* are—1. God and Divinity. 2. Nature and Natural History. 3. Man, and the Study of Humanity.

INQ.—He is here teaching of the mutual relations of knowledges, not of their order; of the abstract idea and its application, not of how to rise.

STU.—Yes, but in his written works he developed the idea after his manner. Here is Spedding's excellent translation of the *Novum Organum*. Just glance at these marked passages. At the very outset in the *Proœmium*, he pronounces the fabric of human reason to *be badly put together and built up, like some magnificent structure without a foundation . . . a total reconstruction of the* whole plan of sciences, arts and human knowledge, must *be raised upon proper foundations.*

INQ.—I remember that he has much to say about "good or ill foundations."

STU.—Yes, and how wise he is. Having laid sound foundations, you may, he says, build upon them what you will, but *if the notions, which are the basis of the whole structure, are in any degree faulty, the whole edifice tumbles; the foundations of the sciences must therefore be sunk deeper*, and must include *a wider range.* You see he shifts from one figure to another, but the ruling idea is ever the same; the *provinces of learning* are to be *armed with higher authority, and fully established, embracing the phenomena of the whole universe*, experience of every kind . . . such *as may serve for a foundation to build philosophy upon.* At the end of the preface to the *Novum Organum*, he compares the method for distributing knowledge to *two tribes or kindreds of students*, not *hostile to each other, but bound together by mutual services.* Farther on he seems to be trying to form such a tribe of students, for he invites all who will "*to join themselves with me as true sons of knowledge.*"

INQ.—That does seem as though he were trying to form a society

of scholars or subordinate helpers. But do I understand you to suggest that the method for raising the level of learning, and the method of raising the band of scholars (or, indeed, mankind in general), were kindred methods? Do you think that Bacon used the same figures of speech with regard to one or the other?

STU.—I do think so, but pray judge for yourself. Seeing the wide divergencies of men's opinions, the measureless difference in their powers, I am myself convinced that he drew the ground-plan of his pyramid to a liberal scale. But the larger the base, the higher it must rise, and I think, too, that his idea was that if the foundations were sunk deep enough, and if they embraced all Nature and all Human Nature,—they (the knowledges, and the men who were to benefit by them), would rise step by step from earth to heaven.

INQ.—"Look from Nature up to Nature's God."

STU.—Just so, and a grand thought too, and most encouraging the reflection that "the smallest beginnings lead with a certainty to their ends,—" and that most poor matters point to most rich ends."

INQ.—But to go back to your pyramid, the symbol grows upon me as you speak, and I think it a fine one, for the Pyramids of Egypt really are built up in steps, stages, or "platforms," which I remember as another of Bacon's architectural figures of speech.

STU.—He must, I think, have had all this in his mind, the metaphor is so perfectly worked out. "*The ascent to knowledge must be by easy steps, unencumbered in the first stages by superfluous learning, as in the order of nature.* It is a mistake to try and proceed *by leaps and not by steps*, and all reasonable opinions do so proceed—*step by step.*

INQ.—He seems to be rehearsing the biblical teaching of the Play:

"Those that do teach young babes
Do it with gentle means, and easy tasks."

STU.—Yes, in the *Novum Organum*, he says much the same that "since the understanding unless directed and assisted is quite unfit to contend with the obscurity of things," therefore learning must begin with "generalities,"—the teaching of "generals" or commonplace, facts to "particulars" requiring higher powers of mind for their comprehension.

INQ.—Then you take it that the steps by which men are to rise in knowledge correspond to the degrees or steps in Freemasonry?

STU.—I think that they were *intended* to do so. Bacon always warned men against forcing upon men's minds truths beyond the reaches of their souls, knowledge which like too bright a light blinds and dazzles rather than illuminates. Much good learning and zeal had been thus, he thought, misspent, because the teachers were wont *to fly over the heads* of their pupils.

INQ.—For the matter of that, the same is done nowadays by well-meaning but ill-judging philanthropists who insist upon "the higher education" for people who have not mastered the lower. They assume in their hearers or readers a knowledge or a power of reasoning which they have not, and starting from the earth, they fly over their heads with a whirr.

STU.—Still the general level of knowledge rises, and would do so more quickly if men were content to climb rather than fly with waxen wings.

INQ.—Do you suppose the gradually *contracting area* of the steps of the Pyramid to symbolise the number of initiates, sons of science, or whatever you call them, who mount to the higher grades?

STU.—We may so interpret it, for the highest grades are hard to each, and but few attain to them. Masonry is not a business or a profession, and since all have to come in at the bottom, it must take a man long to work up to the top.

INQ.—Must even educated men begin at the bottom?

STU.—Judging by analogy they must, for Bacon declares the entrance to the kingdom of man founded on the Sciences, to be not much other than the entrance to the Kingdom of Heaven, where none can enter "except as a little child."

INQ.—Here is "the young babe" again, who is to be taught by easy tasks.

STU.—Yes, the progress was to be "*a Birth of Time rather than a Birth of wit.*" Bacon seems to try through his metaphors, not here only, but everywhere, how slow, how quiet, how much like growth in nature the growth in knowledge must be. The "meagre progress of sciences" was owing he thought, to the efforts of the learned to propel them too rapidly, as well as that they tried to teach too much at once, and so "*they rather crushed the sciences with a multitude of sciences than increased their weight.*" By a method well-ordered, he

proposed to "open ground" and to "mount"—"ascend"—"climb"—to the top of the Pyramid.

INQ.—Ben Jonson alludes to Bacon as the acmé of Learning and Poetry, Have you any idea that this has any connection with Bacon's Pyramid?

STU.—It is quite possible, for as I said, men and their knowledge are identified and coupled by Bacon. "*A man is only that he knows.*" And again, "*the secrets of a man's mind when troubled*, are compared in the *Novum Organum* to the *Secrets of Nature when vexed.*" "Good hopes," Bacon says, "may be conceived of Natural Philosophy when Natural History, *the basis and foundation of it has been drawn on a better plan. . . . But our road does not run on a level, but ascends and descends, ascending to axioms, and then descending to works.*"

INQ.—Can this be made to harmonise with the method in Freemasonry? There the initiates *go up*. I never heard of their *coming down*.

STU.—Pictures which I have seen, represent the end of a Freemason's Hall painted with a scene of the entrance to Solomon's Temple, and with many steps up to the porch or arch. On each step is a figure of a man, intended, as I suppose, to represent the gradual ascent of the initiates. These may be Masons below the rank of the Royal Arch, which latter I conceive to be those who have actually passed through the portals of the House of Learning—the *highly-educated Masons*. But for the descent. You see it is *a descent into works*. Now, take for instance a printer initiated into the highest degree of Craft Masons. I expect that he would have to "*descend*" and "*bend himself*" to learn the secret crafts of his trade—such secrets remaining unknown to non-Masons, and, of course, to non-printers.

INQ.—You believe, then, that Freemasons have secrets, and printers especially?

STU.—Not *especially*. Every circle or "ring" in trades where Freemasons are concerned, seems to have its own secrets. Architecture, and all its branches, as well as every department in book-making, the symbolic architecture of Learning. In all these I find a system of Guilds or fraternities bound together by mutual interests, and with secrets maintained traditionally. This seems to answer your second question as to what Freemasonry really is.

INQ.—Many people maintain that there are no secrets. But I have given a good deal of time to examining into that matter of "secret marks," which we have lately been called upon to notice, and they most assuredly indicate *design* and collusion. Should you say that they indicate an individual or a community?

STU.—To my own mind they indicate rather the religious convictions of those who first dictated their use.

INQ.—Then you allow that religion is mixed up in this matter?

STU.—What great movement has ever produced great fruits apart from religion? Bacon's anxiety to draw all mankind into his net made him plan accordingly; and in the first or lowest degree of Masonry, the candidates seem to be obliged only to confess to one article of faith—*they believe in one God.* Masons in this stage seem rather to pride themselves upon having "no dogmatic form," the ceremonies come home as well to the minds and bosoms of the Brahmin, the Buddhist, the Confucian, or the Fire-worshipper, as to the Christian of any denomination.

INQ.—Perhaps this is why the early stages of Freemasonry often repel highly-educated men.

STU.—May be; but capable men, likely to prove serviceable, seem to be singled out, and presently made to mount.

INQ.—Can that be done without offence, if the general ascent is to be gradual?

STU.—Gradual, as a rule, because the "understanding must not *be allowed to jump and fly, . . . but must take a stand* upon truths which cannot be shaken," and so forth, all the former figures over again. But if a man's mind and knowledge be in advance of his degree, I suppose that no one would hinder his leaping or flying if he could.

INQ.—I have known more than one superior man who seems to have suddenly risen high in Masonry without going through the tedious years of dinners and ceremonials of which one hears.

STU.—You say that such men are "superior"; probably, then, they were equal to all that could be required of them, or they were rich, liberal, given to good works, zealous for the welfare of Church and State.

INQ.—To be sure; but are not Freemasons supposed to be rather anti-religious, or at least anti-church?

STU.—It seems to be so on the Continent, but whether or not they are as atheistical, anarchichal, and generally objectionable as the Roman priests declare, I have no means of judging. Probably religious differences are at the bottom of the prejudice. English Masons seem to be quiet, law-abiding citizens, and I do not observe that they are specially irreligious, though some of them seem to take the code of Masonic morality as a substitute for any definite form of religious belief.

INQ.—Men who eschew dogma, the most dogmatic of all! I should have thought Bacon too great, as well as too humble-minded for that kind of thing. Yet to be sure, I have heard it said that he had no strong religious convictions.

STU.—It is inconceivable how such things can be said of such a man, his own writings are the confutation. We have but to read his papers on the *Controversies of the Church*, his *Meditations* and *Essays*, and the reports of his conversations and private life, to see how tolerant he was, how reverent and truly pious, how ready to see good in everyone, and to help everyone. One sees that he avoids flourishing his own opinions in the faces of those whom they may offend; yet, that he was possessed by the strongest spirit of religion will, I think, ere long be proved, and that the supreme object of his life, the top and acmé of his pyramid, was to restore to her prestine beauty and unity, the defaced and disunited Church. I believe him to have been a chief pillar of the "Counter-Reformation."

INQ.—The anti-Puritan and "old Catholic" movement?

STU.—So they call it on the Continent, where the old ceremonials of the early Church continued in full force. Here our Puritan forefathers made the sad mistake of identifying beauty of worship with errors of doctrine, and in sweeping away abuses and superstitions, they swept so hard as to remove all the delight and loveliness from external worship, an error from which we have hardly yet recovered.

INQ.—An example of the illeffect of running into extremes. But whatever may have been Francis Bacon's private beliefs, his fraternity were rather "Puritanic" than "Catholic"?

STU.—Things took that turn in England and Scotland, and the very word you use, *Catholic*, lost its true meaning of *universal*, and became confused in the public mind with all the errors and abuses

against which the Reformers strove. It is easy, therefore, to see how Church matters would degenerate in the lower ranks of Masonry.

INQ.—Why the *lower* grades ?

STU.—Well, because the standard required nothing higher, and because when we come to the high degrees, they seem to include sound churchmen of the kind represented by the most distinguished of our clergy, men who, whilst standing firm on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, are not afraid to join the beautiful with the true, as Jeremy Taylor describes. You remember what he says ?

INQ.—No; but I expect that Jeremy Taylor approves of nothing ceremonial or fanciful in religious worship.

STU.—Quite the contrary ; in his treatise of "Holy Living," he says that "it is good to *raise the level of human thought by transplanting into religion the instruments of fancy: Music, ornaments, perfumes, comely garments, solemnities*, and decent ceremonies, so that the busy and discerning fancy, being bribed with its proper objects, may be made instrumental to a more celestial and spiritual love."

INQ.—That is strange ; *he* seems also to have the idea of rising, or of *raising the level* of man's thoughts, by visible or earthly things, to the spiritual or heavenly. I have always thought of Jeremy Taylor as a worthy clergyman of the old-fashioned prosy school.

STU.—Then, clearly, you have never read his work. For my own part, I suspect him has a *mask* for Bacon, or as a Rosicrucian Freemason.

INQ.—There again. Please explain where you draw a line between these two.

STU.—I can draw no line hard and fast, but my *theory* is that Churchmen (in the modern sense) form the higher orders of Masonry.

INQ.—That is not the ordinary theory, for although there is a Rose Croix degree, yet I have heard it maintained that the Freemasons have no connection with Rosicrucianism, and that the latter originated with the first "Renaissance" in the time of Dante.

STU.—So I think, and also that Francis Bacon and his friends tried to revive learning and true religion simultaneously, adopting, but as usual *expanding*, the original idea. Dante describes his vision in Paradise of "the saintly multitude" as "a pure White Rose, espoused to Christ in His blood."

"In forma dunque di candida Rosa
Mi si mostrava la milizia santa
Che nel suo sangue Christe fece sposa!"
—(*Paradiso* xxxi.).

Now, let me read you the first words of Jeremy Taylor's prayer "For the whole Catholick Church":—

"O Holy Jesus, King of the Saints, and Prince of the Catholick Church, preserve Thy Spouse whom Thou hast purchased with Thy right hand and *cleansed with Thy blood.*"

Jeremy's ideas were not very far apart from Dante's, were they? Nor were his symbols. Perhaps his idea of perfumes in worship may have been suggested by the sweetness of the rose (white and red), the damask rose, sweetest of all, Bacon says. But, not to wrest meanings too far, it is yet certain that the parables and similes of Dante and Bacon form the very tissue and substance of the Freemason and Rosicrucian literature, and that the symbols taken from the earliest Eastern mysteries, and handed down by the modern churches, are the very same which form the "ornaments" noted by Jeremy Taylor, as suggestive and elevating to the mind in our churches. Further modified, these same symbols re-appear in Freemason and Rosicrucian badges and decorations.

INQ.—If, as some writers declare, Francis Bacon framed the scheme for the Rosy-Cross Brotherhood when he was fifteen years of age, then it would appear that Masonry was an after-thought, and Rosicrucianism the basis, not the apex of the Pyramid. How about this?

STU.—The youthful enthusiast may have planned the model of his society as a kind of religious fraternity bound together, something after the manner of the Knights Templars, or the Gentle Red-Cross Knight of the Fairie Queene, to defend Truth, and to fight against Error. But having experienced the impediments caused by religious strife and antipathies, he may have reserved the religious degrees for the very highest degrees of initiation. After all, the names, Freemason and Rosicrucian, seem to be mere nick-names, bestowed long after the Society or Societies were inagurated.

INQ.—One more point, and I will set you free. Do the Freemason community understand their own origin? Or who amongst them are of the privileged few who are the keepers of the great secret?

STU.—I do not know how to answer you. I have found no Freemason of the lower degrees who seemed to know anything about it. Some of them have declared their conviction that there are secrets to which they may never be admitted, for "men in our class of life never aspire to rise higher than the Royal Arch." In the higher degrees it is not denied that there are secrets, and the nature of them is indicated by the extreme reticence perceptible in all matters connected with Francis. The mere mention of his name seems to scare away all friendly efforts to help or to afford useful information. More than this, it almost appears as if it were forbidden in Freemason ranks to speak plainly, still more to write his name, except in cases of absolute necessity. But of this we cannot talk now.

MONEY, DIRT, MUCK, MUD, &c.

"MONEY is like muck, not good except it be spread" (*Ess. Sedition*).

"Spoils, . . . things precious, . . . the common muck of the world" (*Cor.* ii. 8).

"Gold and silver rather turn to dirt" (*Cymb.* iii. 6).

"Muddie abundance" (*Arcadia* i. 13).

"That bagged baggage of a miser's mud" (*Arcadia* i. 32).

"Thou covetous wretch, . . . gaping on this dross, muck-hills, filthy excrements" (*An. Mel.* iii. 356).

"Ah, you base-minded wretches! are your thoughts so deeply bemired in trade?" (*Arcadia* i. 1).

"I now and then intermingle other employments, . . . that I might not muddle altogether in dirt and dung" (*Ded. Withers' Hallelujah*, xxvii.).

> "You may object
> Our beggary to us, as an accident,
> But never deeper, no inherent baseness,
> . . . young lord of dirt*" (*New Inn* v. 1).

> "The first step he stept
> Into the garden, he pulled these five pieces
> . . . The dirt sticks on them still" (*Mag. Lady* v. 5).

* Comp. "Spacious in the possession of dirt" (*Ham.* v. 2, 90).

"A few brief years, and I trust that money will be despised as completely as dross. . . . The world is bewitched by it, and the infatuated nations adore this vain and gross metal as a divinity. . . . I foresee that my writings will be esteemed as the purest gold and silver now are, and that, thanks to my works, these metals will be as despised as dung" ("The Palace of the King," by Eugenius Philalethes).

JOTTINGS.

In Mr. Wigston's interesting chapter on "Bacon's Georgics of the Mind," * the author quotes the line from *Macbeth*:—

"Canst thou not *minister to a mind diseased?*"

adding that Bacon, no doubt, borrowed this image from Cicero: "But if the joy of living is interrupted by the afflicting maladies of the body, how much greater must its interruption be from the *diseases of the mind?* Now, the diseases of the mind consist in insatiable and superfluous appetites after riches, glory, power, and even sensual pleasures; add to these disquiet, uneasiness, and melancholy, all of which prey upon, and consume with anxiety the spirits of those who are ignorant that the mind ought to have no sensation of pain, for anything that is distinct from the pain of the body, either present or to come. And now I must observe, that there is not a fool in the world who is not sick of some one or other of these diseases, and therefore there is not a fool who is not unhappy" (*De Finibus*).

* Francis Bacon *versus* Phantom Captain Shakespeare," p. 113 (Kegan Paul & Co., 1890).